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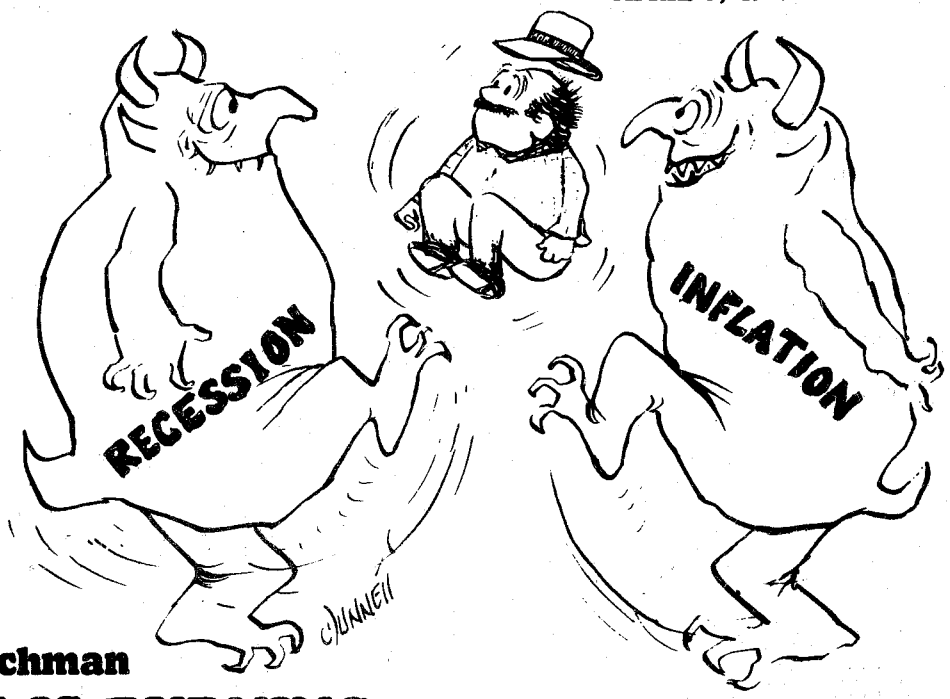

Robert Lekachman

THE HOUSE IS BURNING
Notes on a Three-Alarm Economy

State of Ignorance
NEW JERSEY'S TV BLACKOUT

Daniel M. Gaby

THE CIA

Rep. Michael J. ***...the Watchmen***

James Hig... ***...oop?***

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LETTERS

the sorrowful lobby

Washington, D.C.

In "Why Udall Wants to Run" [*The Nation*, Feb. 15] Joseph Stocker makes the statement that "the National Right to Work Committee hates his guts."

For the record, the National Right to Work Committee does not "hate" Morris K. Udall or any other politician. In fact, we appreciate Mr. Udall's support for Right to Work, even though it stems from the political reality that his constituency favors voluntary unionism rather than from his personal conviction. But a vote is a vote.

As for those politicians and elected officials who favor forced union membership, our attitude is one of sorrow rather than anger. . . .

Hugh C. Newton,
Director of Information

letter from the President's office

Dar es Salaam

Thank you for sending me a copy of Dudley Jackson's "The Case of Tanzania: Caught in the Tide of Crisis" [*The Nation*, Dec. 14]. This article will, I am confident, have helped your readers to understand some of the basic problems with which countries like mine have to contend.

Julius K. Nyerere

source of concern

Port Orchard, Wash.

As a resident of Kitsap County, I'd like to comment on "Puget Sound: Missile Target" by Robert C. Aldridge [*The Nation*, Feb. 1]. First, being a potential target for enemy action is not exactly new to this area. The Boeing Aircraft plants in the Seattle area, Fort Lewis, McChord Air Force Base and Puget Sound Naval Shipyard . . . have certainly kept us on someone's target list at least since World War II. Second, I think it is unrealistic to expect local dissent, at least from Kitsap County, to have any significant effect on the Navy's plans to locate Trident here. Kitsap County has long been a Navy community. The Department of Defense is the only local employer of significant size, and nearly everyone in the labor force who is not actually a federal employee works for service industries. . . .

In fact, it is a little difficult for the average Kitsaper even to know that a significant dissent exists in regard to the Trident program at all, let alone its location here. I was not aware that any significant dissent had taken place in British Columbia; I don't remember seeing anything about that in the Bremerton *Sun*. Concerned About Trident is a group that most local residents feel vaguely threatened by if they know about its existence at all. However, the intervention of the Pacific Legal Foundation and the fund-raising efforts by the local chambers of commerce received detailed press coverage, the main thrust being that businessmen should pitch in and help the poor penniless and beleaguered Navy fight off the legal actions mounted by the impractical extremist environmentalists and high-priced New York lawyers. . . .

With the recent closure of Hunters Point Naval Shipyard, Puget Sound Naval Shipyard has hired on 2,000 to 3,000 additional workers, many of whom transferred from Hunters Point. As a result, land developers are platting subdivisions, clearing land and selling houses as fast as they can be built. Times are good here, to the extent that the depression seems almost like something seen only on the TV news. In this atmosphere I would suspect that most Kitsapers who are concerned about Trident are those who are worried that it will somehow be blocked. . . .

Trident will have to be fought on a national scale. These overgrown submarines, as long as the battleship *Missouri*, may be sitting ducks in the Pacific Ocean, let alone in the landlocked waters of Puget Sound.

Pete Madsen

EDITORIALS

The Politics of Disaster

If politics stops at the Atlantic shore it has never done so at the Pacific. Since 1950, partisan politics—not the politics of open free debate on alternative policies but the politics of blackmail and scapegoating—has had disastrous consequences for American policy in the Pacific. It began with the false Republican charge that the Democrats had "lost China." Coupled with redbaiting and a national witch hunt, this charge so unnerved the Democrats that they felt compelled to demonstrate their military *machismo*—with consequences in Korea, Indochina and Taiwan that still haunt us. As a result, we lost not China but contact with the Chinese for two decades.

Currently, the Republicans are on the defensive, but the criticism of the Democrats is timorous and gentlemanly. With an eye on the 1976 election, the Administration has resorted to a combination of blackmail and scapegoating reminiscent of the dark days of Joe McCarthy. The strategy has been to insist on more aid for Cambodia, knowing it would not be granted except in token form and for a brief period. That would force the blame for "the loss of Cambodia" on those, primarily Democrats, who voted against aid. At the same time, the larger aim has been to clear the track for a stepped-up campaign for ongoing military aid to South Vietnam. The pseudo-logic has been voiced by the President, his press aide, Kissinger, the Secretary of Defense and Gen. George S. Brown, chairman of the Joint Chiefs. By not sending further military supplies to the Cambodian forces we have demonstrated "a lack of resolve" that has made General Thieu look at us askance. It was, we are told by the Secretary of Defense, "the proximate cause" for the decision to withdraw ARVN forces from the Central Highlands. No doubt the decision was prompted by military considerations, although Washington was not notified or consulted. But the timing of the withdrawals and the dramatic way they have been played up in the media, particularly by the networks, suggests that Thieu had one eye on the Congress and American public opinion. He would like to establish a neat little rice enclave in the South, with defensible borders, and then coerce massive U.S. economic and military aid to defend it for an indefinite period. In this respect, whatever the motivations, the massive withdrawals buttress the Administration's strategy. No doubt also, Hanoi, when launching its recent moves, did take note of the lack of enthusiasm in and out of Congress for further military aid, but that hardly proves that those who oppose it lack patriotism or good sense.

The charges which the Administration has leveled against its critics are, in fact, preposterous. Secretary Schlesinger, adopting his professorial manner, pipe at the ready, says that, if we had been "less niggardly" and had kept military aid to 1972-73 levels, the withdrawals would not have been ordered. "The illusion of American impotence," he tells us, has been replaced by "the perception of American impotence." The President has trotted out the old routine about "falling dominoes," but his manner is too bland to convey a sense of urgency. General Brown

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talks about a "lack of resolve." From the safe distance of Aswan, Kissinger has implied a Democratic stab in the back. Rolling his eyes, speaking in a heavier than usual German accent and using terms reminiscent of Spengler's *The Decline of the West*, he has related the tragedy of Cambodia to our difficulties in Turkey, Portugal and the Middle East. At the same time, such cold-war "stars" of yesteryear as General Westmoreland and Sir Robert Thompson (a prime adviser on tactics for Vietnam) have been called upon to repeat their favorite themes.

Implicit in this scapegoating are several false assumptions. The "loss" of China, Cambodia and possibly South Vietnam can be viewed not as setbacks but as long-term gains for stability in the Pacific. It was General MacArthur, a Republican, who warned us against involvement in wars on the mainland of Asia. But we were persuaded that "the age of the Pacific" was dawning and, of course, we would be the dominant force in the new day. It has not worked out quite that way. The Administration would also have liked us to believe that continued military aid to South Vietnam might shore up the Thieu regime, but its own actions indicate that it never thought the "peace agreement" would bring more than "a decent interval" of restricted warfare and, by a miracle perhaps, a real settlement. With the aid of 500,000 American troops and air and naval support, Saigon could not win. So in fact the Administration strategy is aimed at buying time not so much for Thieu but to "defuse" the issue politically.

This strategy is not likely to succeed for several reasons. The Communist world is divided now, as it was not in 1950. Détente, enfeebled, is still alive. The Middle East and a growing confrontation with the Third World have moved up on the agenda. The public is war-weary and disillusioned with cold-war tactics and agencies. It is also preoccupied with the economy. A further factor is that redbaiting has lost much of its sting. Some years back, the failure to be "anti-Communist" to the point of going along with any policy, however self-defeating and dangerous, was to run the risk of being tagged a "fellow traveler" or "an agent of the international Communist conspiracy." Today, according to the Harris poll, only 28 per cent of the country feels that a Communist takeover in South Vietnam would be a serious setback for U.S. prestige; only 23 per cent believe that if Cambodia were to fall it would be a "serious setback," and 74.17 per cent oppose the President's request for additional military aid for Vietnam. Even so, the possibility of a serious backlash should not be dismissed out of hand. We do not know how many of those polled by Harris were Democrats; if a significant number were, the issue could be important in key states. At the moment the Democrats are, or seem to be, largely united on military aid; but if Communist regimes were to take over in Portugal or Spain or elsewhere, Bentsen might "defect" and Jackson might "re-defect."

Then George Wallace, alone or in combination with Ronald Reagan, must be considered. Nor has George Meany been heard from. And if we were to give refuge to 100,000 homeless Cambodians and/or Vietnamese they might prove to be as volatile as their Cuban counterparts. But these are contingencies; for the moment, the Administration is bucking the mainstream of opinion.

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Subscription Price: One year $15; two years, $27.50. Add $1 per year postage for Canada and Mexico; $2 other foreign.

Change of Address: It is essential that subscribers ordering a change of address give four weeks' notice and provide their old as well as their new address. Please give Zip Code numbers for both addresses.

Manuscripts. All work submitted will be read by the editors. The magazine cannot, however, be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unless they are accompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelopes.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Book Review Index and the Public Affairs Information Service.

THE NATION

Volume 220
No. 13

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Home to Roost?

For sheer physical endurance Secretary Kissinger deserved the standing ovation he received at the briefing of Congressional leaders and the resolution of support which Senators Scott and Mansfield rushed through a virtually empty Senate chamber. But he might more properly have been rebuked, not because his seventeen-day mission failed—it never had much chance of success—but because he has shown a dangerous misconception of the office he holds. No U.S. Secretary of State should function for days on end as a shuttle negotiator, scurrying back and forth between enemy powers, delivering messages and testing various clever verbal formulations to see if the parties can be coaxed into signing an agreement studded with ambiguities. The initial visit may have been justified; the circumstances were highly exceptional. But in general the Secretary of State should not be placed in the position that Kissinger so eagerly assumed. No doubt he thought that he could play Israel against Egypt and vice versa but, predictably, each power played him against the other. He was both pawn and hostage. Each side knew he did not want to return to Washington empty-handed, so they both exploited his presence for their own ends. In the circumstances, it does Kissinger little credit that he should now attempt to blame the failure of his mission, even in part, on the "loss of Cambodia." What must have disturbed the Israelis far more than the reluctance of Congress to vote additional aid for Cambodia was the evident fact that those clever Kissinger formulations in the so-called Paris "peace" agreements had not resulted in a meaningful settlement. Why shouldn't the Israelis be wary of his attempts to use foxy phrases to paper over their basic differences with the Arabs?

John Foster Dulles was another ambulatory Secretary of State, but he never committed the prestige of his office in quite the way that Kissinger has done on this mission. And while he was tied up night and day in his exertions as a go-between, the rapid collapse of American policy, worldwide, was becoming increasingly evident. For this collapse he is not responsible, but he has done little to fashion new policies to fill the vacuum. Canadian-American relations need immediate attention. Kissinger has himself admitted, in a recent conversation with columnist Carl Rowan, that we have at the moment no Latin American or African policy. There is trouble at both ends of NATO, in Turkey and Portugal. In the Far East, American policy is a shambles in Indochina, and South Korea contains a high potential for future troubles. The Chinese are probably wondering what the Nixon-Kissinger mission was all about; we have done little to exploit it. As for the Middle East, the assassination of Faisal merely underscores the need for the re-examination of American policy that the President has now belatedly ordered. The fact is that American foreign relations are mired down in obsolete cold-war assumptions. The structure of world power on which these assumptions were based has radically changed, but no new policies have been projected. The so-called Nixon "doctrine" was not a repudiation of cold-war policies so much as it was an attempt to shift a larger share of the cost in lives and dollars to the "host" countries.

The office of the Secretary of State is in Washington and that is where Kissinger belongs. Perhaps there is need for a star negotiator, forever on the move, always in the limelight, but the department also needs a Secretary to direct its activities on a day-to-day basis. Unfortunately Kissinger seems incapable of sharing authority or of delegating responsibility. If he is unwilling or temperamentally incapable of performing the functions of the office, he should step down.

Looking at Korea

With their shared monopoly of the audience and their all-seeing cameras, the three networks give both a dramatic sense of immediacy to what they choose to show in their news broadcasts and an impression that what's not there is not particularly worth seeing. This effect isn't necessarily deliberate. It's just that when Walter Cronkite says "That's the way it is," if you haven't read a comprehensive newspaper and know otherwise, you feel no reason to doubt him.

Lately, the networks have aimed their cameras at the million or more refugees swarming along the roads of South Vietnam. By conventional standards, it's a good story, one chock full of pathos and, perhaps more important, seemingly worth covering because it shows the results of yet another crisis for the Saigon government. Yet, until the recent escalation of struggle in Vietnam, coverage of that country had, for the last year or so, been spotty. When the story being played out now was developing, the cameras were rare. Consequently, we have a surprise, hot news and another example of crisis journalism.

The same kind of thing is developing in South Korea. As in so many areas, including Southeast Asia, crisis there, or at least American involvement in it, might be averted by thorough, anticipatory journalism. And a crisis is definitely possible in Korea, as John Herrick's article elsewhere in this issue indicates. President Park is running the country in a manner at least as bloody and dictatorial as Thieu's rule over Saigon, and yet the Administration backs him by, among other things, maintaining 38,000 soldiers there. Sen. Frank Church, the Idaho Democrat, says it's costing us $1 billion a year to keep the soldiers in Korea. And, as he and others have pointed out, the potential cost is a great deal more.

Park's regime has an army of 625,000 soldiers, equipped with the best weaponry American money can buy. According to Adm. (Ret.) Gene LaRocque, it is the fifth largest military force in the world. Even Secretary of Defense Schlesinger has admitted that the Administration's "justification" for the 38,000 American troops "is no longer primarily a military one—the political purpose is primary now." Park became dictator after a 1961 coup that the Kennedy administration at least did not resist, and he continues in undemocratic power—no doubt largely because those 38,000 American soldiers are accomplishing Schlesinger's "political purpose."

But in addition to costing us $1 billion a year the nation can't afford, and propping up yet another dictator, the presence of the American troops in Korea would almost insure American involvement in any internal disruption or external conflict. LaRocque has wisely noted in the *Los Angeles Times* that in time of war those American

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troops "would be hostages requiring help from other U.S. forces to prevent their capture. . . . Just by being there they could cause our automatic involvement in another costly land war on the Asian mainland. . . ."

The departure of the American troops would very likely lead either to a weakening of Park's iron rule or to his overthrow by democratically oriented forces; it might also remove what seems to be a roadblock to resumption of the stalled North-South talks. The mechanism for honorable withdrawal is there: the troops are supposedly stationed at the behest of the United Nations, as a relic of the U.N.'s Korean War resolution. Rather than persist in keeping the U.N. cloak for its garrison, as it has done, the Administration could gallantly throw the whole matter back to the U.N., which would no doubt decide to change its policy.

Yet none of this will happen until the American people are comprehensively and regularly informed of the situation over there. That's the job of the networks. It's about time for some imaginative reappraisal of the broadcasters' definition of news, about time that we had a look at what's really happening and not just at what makes the most dramatic set of film clips.

Project Jennifer

No doubt somewhere among the many avocational hats Howard Hughes has worn or coveted is that of the secret agent, for whom secrecy is in the national interest and covert machinations are patriotic. With Project Jennifer, the CIA's apparently unsuccessful recovery of a sunken, missile-bearing Soviet submarine, Hughes had his chance. All indications are that he served the CIA well—and vice versa.

As America's consummate corporate prince, Hughes offered the CIA know-how, security, a cover and a privately owned organization, including the Summa Corp., which supervised construction of the salvage ship, and Hughes Aircraft, whose president, according to *Time*, is a former CIA agent and whose upper echelon is loaded with former military and CIA officers. In return, Hughes received a subsidized boost for his own deep-sea mining and what seems to be a further strengthening of the Hughes-CIA ties, potentially of great value to an organization with international enterprises.

These ties merit further investigation. Several threads are dangling in the Hughes-CIA story. The burglary of the Summa offices which led to exposure of the Jennifer agreement has the earmarks of an inside job. It was a Hughes operative who ran Mullen & Co., the Washington public relations firm which employed ex-CIA agent Howard Hunt and, says *Time*, provided a cover for CIA agents in Europe and the Far East. Then, too, there were the Watergate rumors that that burglary had something to do with then-Democratic chief Lawrence O'Brien's tenure with the Hughes outfit.

A good way to get *this* story out might be for CIA Director William Colby to repeat his Jennifer performance, visiting news organizations to ask suppression of the news and, in the process, alerting at least one, ABC News, to the story and peppering others with the details. It's a story of much greater potential than the exposure of Project Jennifer, whose greatest benefit may turn out to be the raising of questions about other secret operations that are being kept from the public, whether involving Hughes or not. With each revelation, Hughes's golden touch seems more pervasive, the reach of the CIA's operations increasingly wide.

Agents Provocateurs

While they are about it, the various Congressional investigating committees would do well to look into the FBI and/or CIA domestic use of *agents provocateurs*. Ever since the demonstrations that disrupted the 1968 Democratic National Convention, periodic reports have circulated that among the more violent of those assembled at Chicago were one or more government agents. A report recently in the New Orleans *States-Item* on the careers of two potentially destructive spies is a case study of their methods and a disturbing depiction of government-sponsored subversion.

Harry and Jill Schafer were among the leaders of the New Orleans left-wing activist group from roughly 1969 to 1973. The FBI confirms that the pair were paid by the bureau but has refused to discuss their activities or financial arrangements. As a leader of the University of New Orleans chapter of Students for a Democratic Society, Harry Schafer's chief function seems to have been to discredit the campus radical movement by being as unreasonable and obnoxious in public as credibility allowed. Both apparently served as informants; Jill Schafer went to China in 1971 where she met Chou En-lai and furnished the FBI with detailed reports.

But according to the *States-Item* account, Harry Schafer was also a violent *provocateur*. Among other things, local activists said, he urged students to vandalize the city's French Quarter motels in 1971 (he failed), tried to talk students into smashing hotel windows to disturb those he called "rich pigs" (he failed again), tried to enlist a student in a plan to blow up Louisiana oil wells, tried to convince the SDS chapter to distribute flyers saying "Off the Marines" instead of the "Get the Marines Off Campus" handbills originally planned (he succeeded), traveled with his wife to South Dakota to participate in the Wounded Knee occupation and called several New Orleans activists, asking them to come and bring guns. Schafer told the *States-Item* that those he phoned misunderstood his request for supplies, but in addition to citing several independent reports of gun-soliciting calls, the newspaper quoted a St. Paul, Minn. lawyer as saying that Schafer claimed to have flown guns to Wounded Knee.

These are just the highlights of the newspaper's account. No doubt there is more information that could be unearthed by investigating Congressmen. Harry and Jill Schafer should be called to testify under oath as to just what they did, what the government encouraged them to do, and who gave them their instructions.

A public investigation of the Schafers and of *agents provocateurs*, both in specific cases and in general, would do much to show what damage the federal government has done to the Constitution and the political health of the nation in the last decade. We need to face up to it—and make sure it does not happen again.

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SOUTH KOREA TICKS ON

JOHN HERRICK

Tokyo

Mun Se Kwang died in August, a few days before his 23rd birthday; he was a stateless man in a country he had never known, hung by executioners who spoke a language he didn't understand. He was executed for the murder of the wife of South Korean President Park Chung Hee, but he was also the victim of Japanese colonialism and what some people call American neocolonialism—the continuing U.S. military and economic support which has helped President Park to stay in office for thirteen years.

The South Korean Government maintains that Mun Se Kwang was acting on the instructions of North Korean spies in Japan when he tried to kill President Park, and that the attempt was part of a continuing plot by North Korea to take over South Korea by force. But Mun Se Kwang was born and raised in Japan, and the Japanese don't agree with that interpretation. "I do not believe there is a military threat to South Korea from the north," said then-Foreign Minister of Japan, Toshio Kimura, two weeks after Mun Se Kwang's pistol missed Park. "South Korea is under the threat of an invasion from the North every day" was the response of a close adviser to Park.

That Koreans and Japanese should disagree is hardly surprising; traditionally, they get along about as well as Arabs and Israelis. However, South Korea and Japan have been tied together by U.S. cold-war policies since shortly after the end of World War II and South Korea is the last so-called "free world" buffer between Japan and the two Communist giants—China and the Soviet Union.

Why, then, if a country less than 150 miles from the Korean peninsula feels there is no military threat from the North, are 38,000 U.S. soldiers stationed there, close enough to a war footing that President Ford can talk about visiting the boys at the front? If the U.S. troops are still trying to make that part of the world safe for democracy, they haven't succeeded too well—Greece under the Colonels was a shining example of democracy in action by comparison with South Korea under the "administrative democracy" of President Park Chung Hee.

Even exile is not enough to protect a man from the clutches of South Korean "law." Opposition leader Kim Dae Jung was kidnapped from a downtown Tokyo hotel in August of 1973 and the Japanese police have evidence linking the Korean CIA and a South Korean embassy staffer in Tokyo to the kidnapping. Naturally, the South Korean Government denies involvement, but several days after the kidnapping Kim Dae Jung turned up conveniently in Seoul, where he was promptly placed under house arrest.

Until last August, mere criticism of the South Korean constitution, adopted under martial law two years ago, was grounds for arrest under a series of emergency decrees issued by President Park in January and April of 1974. The decrees totally banned criticism of the constitution, even inside the National Assembly, and other anti-government acts. More than 200 students, intellectuals and Christian leaders were arrested and court-martialed for violating these decrees.

The victims included one fomer President of South Korea, Yun Po Sun. It is perhaps only a coincidence that he, like Kim Dae Jung, had run against Park in Presidential elections. A Roman Catholic bishop, Daniel Tji Hak Soun, and a Protestant leader, the Reverend Park Hyung Kyoo, were also arrested. According to an Amnesty International report, fourteen people were sentenced to death, including the internationally known poet Kim Chi Ha. The death sentences of Kim Chi Ha and two others have since been commuted to life imprisonment. Two Japanese—a free-lance journalist, Masaki Tachikawa, and a university lecturer, Yoshiharu Hayakawa—received twenty-year sentences.

At the time of this writing there are rumors that a special Presidential clemency will be granted to some of the imprisoned dissidents sometime soon. It was reportedly worked out under the table as part of a trade-off for President Ford's visit to South Korea in November. If it comes to pass, the clemency will be about the only worthwhile product of President Ford's visit, which aroused considerable criticism in both Japan and South Korea.

The Japanese were generally disappointed that a visit to South Korea was tacked onto what they considered a historic occasion for Japan, the first visit ever made by an incumbent U.S. President. Opposition forces in Japan even objected to Ford's visit to Japan, on the ground that it seemed to put a Boy Scout seal of approval on the leadership of Prime Minister Tanaka, who has since resigned under fire because of a scandal about his finances.

Opposition forces in South Korea were even less happy about the visit. The Federation of Christian Students of South Korea said they hoped "the Ford visit does not confirm the current ruling system of the present regime which invited the collapse of democracy."

Edwin O. Reischauer recently warned that continued repression in South Korea could spark domestic subversion as well as dissent, sowing the seeds of a new Vietnam. Reischauer believes that a gradual withdrawal of U.S. troops might put pressure on the Park regime to liberalize its rule. It would also allow the United States to get off the peninsula without being burned. He added that, if a crisis did develop, the United States would almost certainly be forced to withdraw under fire, so to speak. "Until the kind of government there changes, it is a commitment we could not possibly keep. Public opinion just wouldn't support it."

Washington can hardly claim to be surprised by the lack of democracy in South Korea. President Park said as long ago as 1962, in his book, *Our Nation's Path*, that he was aiming for what he called an "administrative democracy"; he dismissed the kind of democracy practiced in Western Europe as "unworkable" for his country.

Another consideration that might make it difficult

John Herrick is with Radio Japan in Tokyo. He has also worked for The Insiders' Newsletter *and CBS-TV News.*

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to keep our commitment to South Korea is that U.S. military bases in Japan would have to be used as supply centers and forward command facilities if hostilities broke out. The Japanese Government would almost certainly object to becoming so directly involved in the defense of an unpopular government in South Korea.

Japan no longer feels that the Park regime is the sole legitimate government on the Korean peninsula and is shifting the emphasis of its Korean policy toward consideration of the "whole peninsula." Observers in Tokyo say the government here may be moving, slowly, toward eventual recognition of North Korea. The dismissal of any threat from the north is particularly significant, since Korea has often been called a "dagger pointing at the heart of Japan."

To paraphrase Oscar Wilde on the separation of England and America by a common language, Japan and Korea are two countries separated by a common past. One journalist noted that the relations between the two countries have been bad for 500 years. They certainly haven't been good in the 20th century.

Koreans were second-class citizens in their own land from 1910, when Japan annexed the country, until 1945, when the United States and the Soviet Union "liberated" it. The anniversary of that liberation is still celebrated as National Day in South Korea. (It was during a National Day speech that Mun Se Kwang tried to kill President Park.) Bae Dong Ho, the coordinator of the anti-Park Congress for Unification and Democracy, has said "every Korean has some anti-Japanese feeling in his heart."

If so, the feeling is reciprocated. The most gruesome example came just after the great Kwanto earthquake of 1923 which flattened most of Tokyo. The Japanese slaughtered 6,000 Koreans in the city in an orgy of violence sparked by rumors that the Koreans were planning to poison the remaining water supplies of Tokyo.

During World War II an estimated million Koreans were brought to Japan to serve as forced labor. And another 370,000 were drafted into the Japanese Army. President Park, however, didn't wait to be drafted. He volunteered and graduated from the Imperial Military Academy in 1944, serving out the war as a commissioned officer in the Japanese Army. In fact, Park may have touched all the bases: he was linked by rumor to a supposed Communist plot shortly after the war.

Even now, more than a quarter of a century after the war, some 600,000 Koreans are still living in Japan. It is estimated that 80 per cent of them were born here, and few of them can read, write or speak Korean. Many are the sons and daughters of people in the wartime labor brigades. And like their parents before them, most are still second-class citizens. They were considered Japanese until 1952, but now it is virtually impossible for them to become citizens. Almost all of them are alien residents, with most of the obligations of citizenship and few of the benefits; that is, they pay taxes but can't vote. And they must carry alien registration cards at all times. In effect they are stateless.

Mun Se Kwang was typical. He was born in Osaka in 1951, raised in Japan and educated in Japanese schools. Yet most of his life he suffered from prejudice because in the eyes of the Japanese he was Korean. As a final irony, they said in Korea that he was not really a Korean.

Although reasonably bright, he was unable to get into a good public high school and eventually dropped out of a commercial high school. Without the right credentials, good jobs just aren't available in Japan. The old school tie is even stronger here than in England. But for Koreans even good schools are not always enough. One Korean resident of Japan, the graduate of a Japanese university, got a job with the prestigious electronics firm, Hitachi, but was fired as soon as the company discovered that he was Korean.

Mun worked at a variety of menial jobs, like collecting scrap paper and cleaning windows. He was said to be bitterly depressed last winter because he couldn't even afford to buy a Christmas cake for his year-old son. Mun also tried to escape prejudice by using a series of Japanese aliases. When asked to identify himself at his trial in Seoul, he replied "Mun Se Kwang. I have also used such Japanese names as Nanjo, Yuasa and Kawakami." He spoke Japanese at his trial and needed an interpreter. He had never even set foot in Korea until the day he arrived, bent on killing President Park.

There are so many Koreans living in Japan that even the division of the peninsula is repeated in miniature. The allegiance of the Korean residents of Japan is divided about evenly between Chosensoren, the pro-Pyongyang General Association of Korean Residents, and Mindan, the pro-Seoul Korean Residents Union. The membership of Mindan is swollen by the fact that Korean residents of Japan cannot travel on Japanese passports. They need South Korean passports, which are available in Japan only on the approval of Mindan.

Mun traveled on a false Japanese passport, partly because as a former member of an anti-Park group of Korean residents he would have found it difficult, to say the least, to get a South Korean passport. In fact there were so many difficulties in Mun's way that more than a few people were surprised, and made suspicious, by the fact that he got as far as he did in his assassination attempt. His exploit required money and planning, and no one knows where either came from. And he needed more luck than seems reasonable. He even climbed over a security guard to get into the aisle and start shooting at Park.

The Japanese police have now pretty much closed the book on the case. They have rejected South Korean claims that the plot was organized by Chosensoren, but they have confirmed that there was a plot of some kind. There is speculation, both in Japan and in South Korea, that Mun may have been a patsy—that the whole thing, including the ultimate failure of the plot, may have been arranged by people inside South Korea. It did get President Park out of a tight corner, winning him some public sympathy and turning the focus of attention away from domestic repression and toward Japan.

But it didn't end repression in South Korea. To say that the United States cannot force President Park to change his ways is to evade responsibility. The United States supports the South Korean Army and economy. Between them the United States and Japan account for two-thirds of South Korea's foreign trade, and the economy there is heavily dependent on its export markets in

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Japan and America. Also the CIA, which was allegedly so eager to support the opposition and freedom of the press in Chile under the late President Allende, apparently has a different view of its job in South Korea, where its little brother, the KCIA, suppresses even hints of dissent.

It is, in this too pragmatic time, important to note that the questionable nature of the U.S. commitment to South Korea and the Korean ties to Japan are not just a moral problem, restricted to pangs of conscience over the trials of Korean dissidents or even the possibility of a new Vietnam.

Two nuclear power plants with Westinghouse reactors are under construction in South Korea; one is due to be completed next year and the other in 1979. The South Korean Government is also reportedly trying to arrange Japanese financing and technical cooperation for the construction of one or two more nuclear power stations with Canadian reactors. That is the same type of reactor which apparently supplied the fissionable material for India's first nuclear device, exploded in May 1974.

South Korea, which has not ratified the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, is regarded in some quarters as one of the countries, along with Israel and Japan, that have the capability to develop nuclear weapons if it so wishes.

Mun Se Kwang was arrested, tried, convicted, sentenced, run through the appeals procedure and executed in just over three months. The trials of those who did little more than criticize the administration in a country where the United States is supposedly protecting democracy went with equal dispatch. In a few years the hand which guided this speedy "justice" may have its finger on a nuclear trigger. □

STATE OF IGNORANCE

NEW JERSEY'S TV BLACKOUT

DANIEL M. GABY

Newark

Shortly after William Cahill left office in January 1974, with the distinction of being the only sitting New Jersey Governor ever denied renomination by his own party, he told his class at Princeton University a curious thing. The most serious mistake he had made while Governor, Cahill stated flatly, was his failure to get for New Jersey its own commercial television station. That raised a lot of eyebrows, because his was an administration in which the state treasurer, the secretary of state, the Republican state chairman and assorted other top officials were convicted of corruption. It was also an administration which ran head-on into New Jersey's traditional opposition to school integration, a state income tax and statewide real estate zoning.

Yet many other people think Cahill meant exactly what he said, for New Jersey is one of the only two states without its own commercial VHF TV station, and as a result exists in a broadcasting brownout. Cahill's complaint was that, though many of his proposals challenged a variety of special interests, he could not get his message directly and continuously to the electorate via TV, the only medium with the power to speak to the people over the heads of those interests. Considering that 75 per cent of New Jersey's citizens get almost all of their news and understanding of public affairs from TV, that was indeed a serious disadvantage.

New Jersey is the most densely populated, most industrialized and the eighth most populous state in the nation, with the second highest median income. And to be sure, New Jersey residents receive plenty of television service from neighboring states. Six New York City and three Philadelphia stations are happy to count New Jersey's 1.5 million TV households in the market they sell to advertisers. In fact, about 25 per cent of the audience peddled to advertisers is in New Jersey. But news and public affairs particularly relevant to New Jersey on these commercial stations is meager. And the UHF channels assigned to New Jersey have, thus far, failed to build any significant audiences. A Ford Foundation study determined that New Jersey is in the prime VHF viewing area in the United States, and that as a result the New Jersey sector of the metropolitan area had 20 per cent fewer UHF-equipped sets than the national average.

New Jerseyans are probably the most misinformed and uninformed citizens in the country on matters applying to their own state, and a belief widely held in New Jersey is that the state's bleak history of political corruption, citizen apathy and public neglect is directly related to the fact that its citizens live with no real knowledge of their own state, its problems and its personalities.

New Jersey has always lived in the shadow of its giant neighbors, New York City and Philadelphia. Benjamin Franklin called it "a keg tapped at both ends," a drain that has not only exploited the state and syphoned off its identity but literally divided it in two. The northern, more populous areas, are dominated by the pull of America's dominant city; the southern half is oriented toward the City of Brotherly Love. Accordingly, state government is weak and local political dukedoms abound. Among other things, this domination from outside has made it difficult to sustain and support such facilities as sports teams, theatres, universities, etc.—facilities that strengthen a state's unity and self-esteem. Although a quarter century of suburbanization is beginning to improve New Jersey's ability to maintain such institutions, the state's ignorance about itself remains undiminished.

It is generally assumed that New Jersey residents are

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more interested in events across the Hudson and Delaware Rivers than in those of their own state and communities. Certainly the penetration of New York media in northern New Jersey documents this assumption. For example, the New York radio station, WOR, has more listeners in New Jersey than do all forty-two New Jersey radio stations *combined*! The commercial VHF stations licensed to New York virtually own the Garden State's TV audience, and the story is much the same for newspaper coverage. Of the three papers with largest circulations in New Jersey, two—the *Daily News* and the *Times*—are New York papers publishing New Jersey editions. The same is true in the southern part of the state, where two of the three largest papers are Philadelphia dailies.

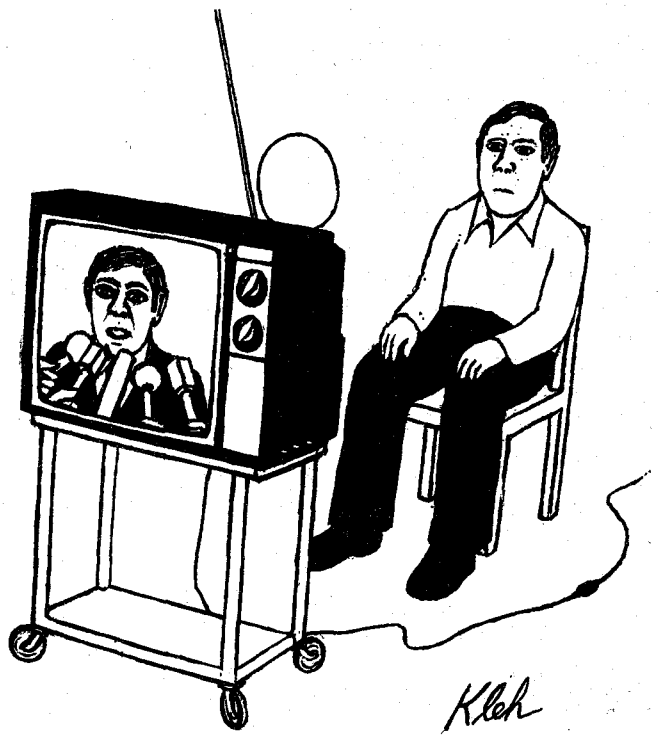
The most significant study thus far of New Jersey's ignorance about itself, and the consequences, was made by Stephen Salmore, director of the New Jersey Poll, which is based at the Eagleton Institute of Rutgers University. New Jerseyans, Salmore discovered, have a higher level of interest in national politics than the national electorate (that points to an unusually cosmopolitan voter). However, when asked for specific information about their own important officeholders at both the state and national levels, voters in New Jersey scored much lower than the American adult population as a whole.

Another trend that many observers blame on the broadcasting vacuum is the continuing decline in political participation. Levels of voting in New Jersey are lower than in the nation as a whole, although the state's comparatively high per capita income would be expected to produce higher rates of participation.

In 1973, the Harris poll found that on a national average, 59 per cent could name one U.S. Senator from their state; 39 per cent could name both. In New Jersey, just 32 per cent could name one of their U.S. Senators, and less than 25 per cent could name both. In the same national poll, 46 per cent could name their Congressman; in New Jersey, only 39 per cent could do so. In October 1972, at the height of the national campaign for President and the statewide campaign for U.S. Senate in New Jersey, only 19 per cent of those asked could name Clifford Case—a three-term GOP incumbent seeking reelection—and a mere 5 per cent could identify his Democratic opponent.

In October 1973, during the heat of the governor's race, more than one-third of New Jersey residents were unable to name either Byrne or Sandman, the Democratic and Republican candidates. In northern New Jersey, almost as many (56 per cent) knew that Abe Beame was the mayoralty candidate in New York City as could identify either Byrne (62 per cent) or Sandman (61 per cent).

On the issues, the level of ignorance is even more deplorable. Despite the candidates' almost daily reference to taxes as being the main issue, their positions on this crucial problem did not come through. Charles Sandman had built his entire political career on his opposition to a state income tax, yet at the height of the 1973 campaign, only 30 per cent of the electorate could identify him as being opposed to the tax, and 23 per cent thought he favored it!



Studies over the past three years, during which a Republican and a Democratic governor tried to put through a state income tax, showed that a consistent majority of the electorate favored such a tax if it was coupled with property tax relief. Both proposed plans did just that, yet both failed. Salmore explains this paradox by the absence in New Jersey of any link between public opinion and the politicians. This permits special interests and pressure groups to manipulate legislators without fear of public reaction. The link is so weak that TV has almost no place in either politics or government in New Jersey—a situation unthinkable almost anywhere else in the Western world. A governor of New Jersey must literally leave the state to address his constituents on TV. And the most powerful, most persuasive medium in the history of mankind is rarely—if ever—used in New Jersey political campaigns because a full three-quarters of the audience that must be purchased consists of out-of-state voters.

The absence of adequate broadcast coverage has had a particularly serious effect on the state's urban areas and low-income residents. Studies consistently demonstrate that, for both cultural and economic reasons, the poor, the elderly, the less well-educated rely much more heavily on radio and TV for their information than do more fortunate citizens. Even under the best of media circumstances, these segments of the electorate have a poor record of political participation. It is little wonder that one can make a geographic correlation between areas most deprived of local broadcast news coverage and areas where political corruption is most deeply entrenched.

In response to this communication problem, the New Jersey Coalition for Fair Broadcasting (CFB) was organized in 1971. It is composed of eighteen civic, labor, business and religious groups, as well as individual public officials. Its goal is to persuade or compel New York and Philadelphia TV stations to provide fuller news and public

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affairs coverage of New Jersey. The coalition actually grew out of an earlier study of the neglect of New Jersey by out-of-state stations that was paid for by the Wallace-Eljabar Fund (now the Fund for New Jersey) and conducted by the Office of Communications of the United Church of Christ. It confirmed that most newscasts carried only one or two New Jersey stories and many presented none at all, that only three of the six commercial stations (servicing the northern area) carried any public affairs programming about New Jersey, and that the one station actually licensed to Newark (Educational Channel 13) offered no New Jersey programming at all.

The Coalition for Fair Broadcasting began intensive negotiations with the New York stations during the license renewal period of 1972. The CFB signed agreements with six of the New York VHF stations (the license of WPIX was then under challenge). Although they differed from one another to some degree, all of the 1972 agreements committed the stations to improving the quality and quantity of their New Jersey coverage. In most cases, the stations agreed to expand their personnel in the state, open offices, set up direct phone lines and otherwise strengthen their capacity to understand and serve the state's need for news. Yet most of the agreements remain largely unfulfilled. WNBC promised to consider seriously the acquisition of a central office in Trenton. It promised direct phone lines to its news desks in New York, but these lines connect to an answering service that does not accept news stories. In the original agreement with WABC, the station agreed to designate an assignment editor whose primary responsibility would be to New Jersey. This editor is now responsible also for Connecticut, suburban New York and Long Island. And not one of the New York stations maintains news desks or broadcasting equipment in New Jersey.

According to the coalition staff, the stations' actual on-the-air performance is also unsatisfactory. In New York, the local affiliates of the networks allocate, on average, a little less than 10 per cent of their air time to New Jersey news. For the independents, the figure drops sharply to 2 per cent for WOR and 3 per cent for WNEW. A monitoring report released by the CFB in August 1973, noted that there had been little improvement in the stations' performance since the original Church of Christ report in 1971.

(At the moment of writing, these percentages have suddenly changed. Faced with an FCC inquiry, an investigation by the New Jersey Senate and biannual license renewal review, the New York stations have discovered the Garden State. For the week in February monitored by the Coalition for Fair Broadcasting, the New Jersey share of news on the six o'clock programs was 16.75 per cent for WABC-TV and 15.5 per cent for WCBS-TV. That compares with just 5 per cent for both in July 1973. No doubt, this exceptional interest in New Jersey will last at least as long as it takes to get a license renewed.)

Channel 13 has recently taken several halting steps toward honoring its fourteen-year-old pledge to do more New Jersey programming; it has set up an office in Newark and plans a half-hour public affairs program to be aired regularly. Channel 13 went by the call letters WATV-Newark in the early 1950s, then was sold to National Telefilm Associates, becoming WNTA. This venture proving unsuccessful, Channel 13 (WNDT) was sold in 1961 to Educational Television for the Metropolitan Area, a move that effectively transferred the station to New York City.

Then-Governor Meyner objected strenuously, but agreed finally to an out-of-court settlement which guaranteed that the station would provide a "substantial amount" of New Jersey programming and would maintain a studio in Newark. So negligent was the station that Newark lawyer John Cervase recently asked the U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington to direct the Federal Communications Commission to review his petition to have WNET returned to its original city of license. The coalition has already notified Channel 13, currently up for license renewal, that unless it takes major action to meet its legal commitments to New Jersey, the CFB will be forced to take legal action.

The CFB has successfully petitioned the FCC to undertake a general inquiry into the adequacy of TV coverage for New Jersey. This petition, as well as all other formal requests for relief from the FCC, is based on the principle that the FCC must distribute TV licenses and frequencies equitably and efficiently. In a ruling related to the obligation of a Washington, D.C. station to serve viewers in Virginia and Maryland, the FCC said:

> Service area . . . should be defined in terms of coverage and not in terms of artificial political boundaries. The needs and interests of all people within the station's service area should be of concern to a licensee.

The current three-month inquiry by the FCC, officially called An Inquiry into the Need for Adequate Television Service for the State of New Jersey, will take up a variety of possible solutions to the problem. The CFB has asked the FCC to consider (*1*) reassigning the licenses of one or more of the stations to New Jersey, an action which would require moving the entire operation to the state; or (*2*) adding a new commercial station to the VHF band; or (*3*) hyphenating the market so that the stations are legally classified as serving both New York and New Jersey.

The FCC's agreement to undertake the inquiry is sure to impress the New York stations, all of which have been dragging out inconclusive—and, some think, insincere—meetings with CFB staff members for several years. One station, WCBS in New York, has even provoked a threat from the CFB that it will petition to deny license renewal.

In the view of the CFB, the station has broadly reneged on its 1972 agreements by canceling the "tri-state report" segment of its news broadcasts, one of the few which effectively touched on New Jersey events. In response, CBS has denied the allegations, maintaining instead that it has been made the special target of the CFB because of its particularly desirable channel position.

While the Coalition for Fair Broadcasting, its supporting organizations and the Fund for New Jersey are leading the fight for better TV coverage, they are not alone. If anything, Gov. Brendan Byrne is more hawkish on the question than the CFB; he has insisted on several occasions that what is needed is not simply expanded coverage of the state but the transfer of one of the stations

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to New Jersey. The state Senate set up a legislative study commission in angry reaction to the almost nonexistent TV coverage of New Jersey's Congressional elections last November. And Newark Mayor Kenneth Gibson, noting the special effect that this neglect has on poorer urban residents, has been a consistent critic of the New York stations and a strong supporter of the CFB actions.

The FCC has asked for written comments from interested parties by April 14; comments in reply will be accepted until May 14. Most observers of the New Jersey scene, regardless of background or ideology, believe that the future of the state as a distinct, separate entity in the metropolitan area is riding on the FCC decision. Some, going even further, argue that any chance for New Jersey politics and government to come out of the 19th century hinges on television coverage that will finally reveal New Jersey to itself; that will finally inform New Jersey's electorate fully; that will finally provide the connection between public opinion and public officials that has been missing for so long. □

THE HOUSE IS BURNING

Notes on a Three-Alarm Economy

ROBERT LEKACHMAN

When cautious economists like Arthur Okun, chairman of Lyndon Johnson's last Council of Economic Advisers, and Paul Samuelson of M.I.T. warn Congress that the danger of depression is real and imminent, ordinary Americans may take what comfort they can from this expert endorsement of their daily experiences. During the seventeen months of the current slide, industrial production, allowing for the inflation out of the dollar totals, declined 10.8 per cent. In the last quarter of 1974, GNP, again in real terms, shrank 5 per cent; since then the rate of decline has picked up speed. Unemployment, 8.2 per cent in January, failed to rise in February only because nearly 600,000 men and women stopped looking for jobs that did not exist. If they are included in the unemployment computations, as any reasonable soul would expect, unemployment in February approximated 9 per cent, and if earlier labor market dropouts are similarly counted, unemployment is by now in the double digits, a fair match for recent inflation rates.

As usual, blacks, women and teen-agers are worst off. Black adult unemployment in February was 11 per cent; for black teen-agers the sickening number was 36.7 per cent, and at that an underestimate of the true figure. Women, recently hired in accordance with affirmative-action agreements between their employers and government agencies, are being laid off in record numbers. When General Motors fired 2,400 workers last year at its Linden, N.J. plant, the casualties included all 350 women hired since 1970, along with a number of Hispanics and veterans of Vietnam.

Moreover, the automatic stabilizers celebrated by economists as insurance against depression are showing signs of fatigue. As George Meany has been reminding the politicians, supplementary unemployment benefits in the auto industry are rapidly running out; later in the year hordes of idle workers will exhaust their regular unemployment compensation eligibility, and thousands of home mortgages are likely soon to be foreclosed. Automatic stabilizers work best during short recessions like that of 1969-70.

A comparatively bright spot in the glum economic news is the behavior of prices in the last few months. *Business Week* at the beginning of March concluded that "Inflation is subsiding." January's increase in the cost of living was a mere half of the peak, for an annual rate of a bit more than 7 per cent. Consumers have found occasional markdowns in supermarket prices of items like beef, sugar and flour. But these decreases are unlikely to become general or deep until the spread narrows between prices at retail and those at the farm and the feed lot, which have declined enough to cause genuine distress for small farmers. Supermarket chains and food processors have obviously been widening their profit margins.

The evidence is conclusive that we are suffering from an economic malady unfamiliar in the adult experience of anyone much under 55. Yet responses have ranged from ludicrous on the part of the Administration to slow, inadequate and misconceived on that of Congress. Until Christmas, President Ford was still promoting a tax increase, distributing WIN buttons and dragging his skis on the Colorado slopes. When he executed his 179-degree policy turn in January the contradictions between the energy and tax elements of his program threatened simultaneously to aggravate inflation and deepen recession, no inconsiderable feat. Mercifully, Congress appears to have staved off at least $2 of the $3 per barrel impost on crude petroleum. If the President had had his way, 3 to 4 per cent would have been added to the cost of living and a new lease on life offered the OPEC cartel, just as its amiable members, awash in a sea of unsold oil, give encouraging signs of internal dissension. Mr. Ford's jerry-built program (desperate times call for desperate puns), by returning via tax reductions fewer dollars to the spending stream than energy taxes and reduced social benefits took from family budgets, would surely have further reduced consumer spending and business investment, and driven unemployment still higher.

Fortunately, the White House program is by now a

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historical curiosity. Congress' own alternative, as it slowly emerges out of the reconciled egos of assorted committee chairmen and other potentates, is a vast improvement. On the energy front, after much hassling, Ways and Means is likely to have its way. Chairman Al Ullman's scheme substitutes for tariffs quotas phased in over two to three years; focuses on gasoline conservation by imposing progressively higher taxes at the pump (partly refundable), beginning this year at 5¢ to 10¢ per gallon and reaching by 1979 a possible 40¢ peak, and introduces a substantial manufacturers' excise tax on cars which get less than 15 miles per gallon.

At this writing, it is unlikely that the tax and public expenditure elements of the Congressional design will prove as sensible. As a stimulus to a depressed economy, the $21-billion tax reduction which passed the House is far too small. So is the largest of the public job bills under consideration. One million new jobs would soon satisfy only about 10 per cent of those seeking work. Because of inflation and growth in the scale of the U.S. economy, Congress would need to cut taxes by $26 billion to approximate the real impact of 1964's $11-billion cut. Moreover, the Kennedy-Johnson fiscal hypodermic was inserted into an economy already recovering from the last of the Eisenhower recessions. The present shot in the arm treats an economy visibly sliding out of deep recession into actual depression. On standard Keynesian grounds, a $50-billion cut might be none too large.

Congress' fiscal creature will probably suffer from two additional birth defects. There are disquieting signs that, despite a relatively egalitarian tax measure passed by the House, Congress as usual will finish by giving away far too much to corporations and affluent individuals. Even liberal Democrats seem determined to expand the investment tax credit to 10 per cent. Of this misguided gift to the unneedy, it should be said first that corporate taxes have been declining since 1961. As for the current sluggishness of capital investment, the explanation ought to be obvious to Congressmen who recess so much of the year in order to hear what the folks back home have on their minds. When factories operate at below 70 per cent capacity and unsold inventories pile up, rational executives do not construct new factories or install expensive new equipment. When the cash registers begin to ring again, business investment will rise without additional tax benefits. And, last, Congress is passing up an opportunity to use tax credits, if tax credits there must be, as instruments of social allocation by varying rates according to the desirability of new investment: large credits for smokestack scrubbers and low or zero credits for new auto tool and die capacity.

As the tax relief bill winds through the Senate and the conference committee, it is likely that a larger share of the benefits will accrue to families with incomes above the $15,000 the House measure now allows. A straw in the wind is Hubert Humphrey's reference to $20,000 as the dividing line between middle-class and higher incomes. As usual, 1975 is the wrong year for tax reform. Although the House knocked out the oil depletion allowance, there is ominous talk of compromise to retain the exemption for "small" oil producers and to phase it out over time for the bigger companies. The oil industry has richly contributed to the campaigns of at least four members of the Finance Committee, among them its chairman Russell Long, who probably needs no special inducement to protect an industry in whose fortunes he has a considerable personal stake. As ever, the threat of filibuster frightens respectable opinion like the editorial writers of *The New York Times*.

All of this is bad enough, but the worst feature of Congress' emerging economic therapies remains to be stated. This Congress, like its predecessors, seems unable to resist the temptation to treat economic emergency by mortgaging the revenues needed to finance universal health care, public housing, mass transportation and reconversion of Pentagon budgets to civilian pursuits. A large permanent tax cut (temporary cuts are far preferable) will have the effect, come 1977, of confronting a liberal Democrat in the White House with revenues too small to finance essential progressive reforms, and the glum political prospect of getting higher taxes through a reluctant Congress. Congress would do better to prepare the way for Democratic recapture of the White House by immediate attention to accelerated public works, a 2-to-3-million public job program and an expansion of funds for mass transit, food stamps and other social programs.

As Arthur Okun remarked in obvious exasperation, "It is incredible. A fire is burning, but most of the country is going on with business as usual. Why is there no public clamor? There is no action by government to express that the seriousness of the situation is recognized. Nobody wants to grab the ball and run with it."

The suddenness of the economy's sinking spell and the country's post-Watergate mood of exhaustion with politicians and political solutions probably explain some of this national shortage of affect. What also contributes to Congressional sluggishness (even beyond its well-recognized habits of institutional self-indulgence) is the confusion among the experts, highlighted last September by the babble of voices at the various economic mini-summits.

Even the eminent are disaffected. As that elderly rebel, Harvard's and now New York University's Nobel Laureate Wassily Leontieff, pungently phrased his mood, "We all see that despite what Mr. Greenspan believes—and says in his unguarded moments—the invisible hand of the automatic market mechanism might, in the *long run*, be capable of maintaining the proper balance between the prices of powdered and granulated sugar. However, in the short run, in which we all live, as soon as the system hits a snag or gets into a rut, the shock absorbers fail, the axle breaks and the passengers are badly shaken."

Leontieff thinks no more highly of the neo-Keynesians and the monetarist disciples of Milton Friedman. In his judgment, both "monetary and budgetary fine tuning" have failed. "After attending inconclusive academic debates on the causes of that preposterous phenomenon, stagflation, one asks whether the learned parties involved are not concerned more with rescuing their badly damaged theoretical positions than with the amelioration of the present deplorable economic conditions."

Leontieff's brisk dismissal of what passes for deep thought among contemporary economists occurred in the

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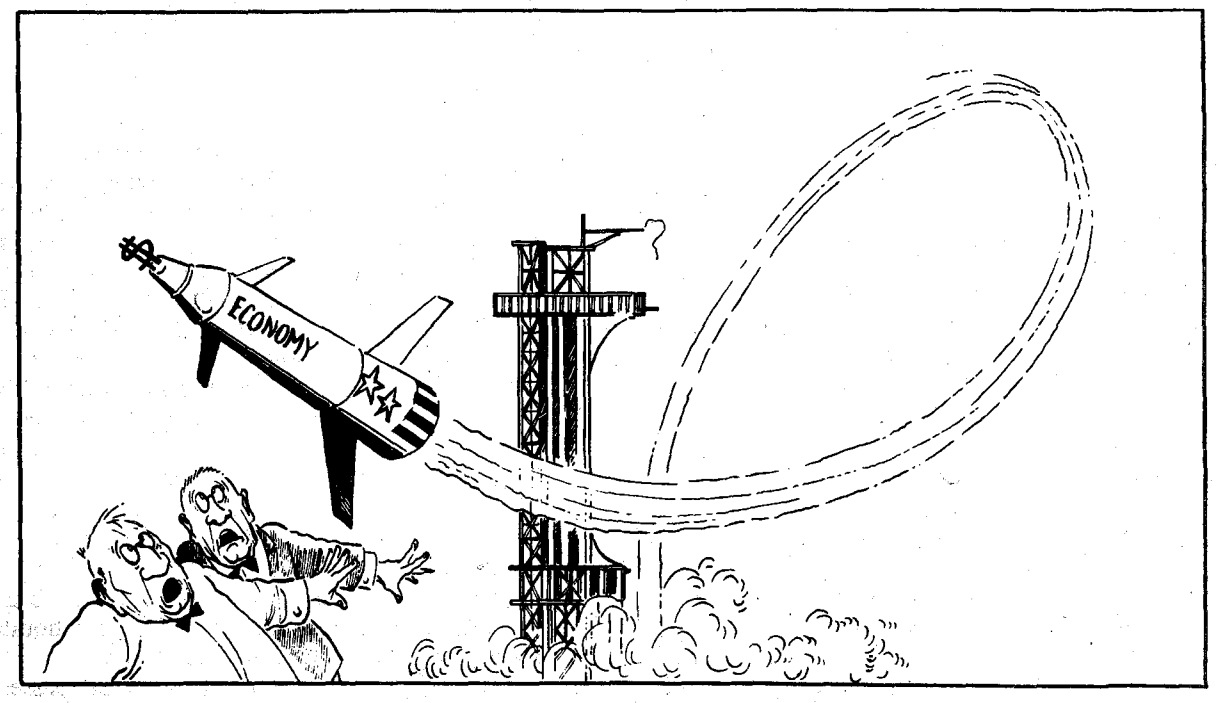
context of the organization of a new group, The Initiative Committee for National Economic Planning, which defines planning as an essential response to depression, inflation and misallocation of economic resources. Among its members are union leaders like the UAW's Leonard Woodcock and District Council 65's David Livingston; writers and editors like Gerard Piel of *Scientific American*, Michael Harrington, Carey McWilliams and myself; businessmen like Robert S. McNamara, Robert Roosa and W. Michael Blumenthal, head of the Bendix Corp.; economists, in addition to Leontieff, like J. K. Galbraith, Robert Heilbroner, Robert R. Nathan and this year's president of the American Economic Association, R. A. Gordon; and several dozen assorted scientists, political figures and other academics.

This heterogeneous collection of talents is obviously far from united on goals as grand as the reordering of social and economic priorities, or choices as immediate as those which determine the shape of fiscal and monetary response to present economic exigencies. The common sentiment of the group is a conviction that, in the words of its opening manifesto, "Few Americans are satisfied with the way in which the economy is now operating. . . . No reliable mechanism in the modern economy relates needs to available manpower." The consequences include "shortages of housing, medical care, municipal services, transportation, energy, and numerous other requirements of pressing importance." If one judges by initial favorable responses, there is spreading an agreement that "in a modern economy planning is not a matter of preference or ideology. It is one of immediate need."

The variety of planning envisaged resembles the French indicative model, a matter of determining national objectives after group consultation and political debate, and shaping tax, credit, subsidy and other policy incentives and penalties toward the attainment of the targets set. The group has prepared a draft bill which Senators Humphrey and Javits plan to introduce. It creates an Office of National Economic Planning, charged with gathering detailed planning information, working out medium and long-term programs for submission to the President and Congress and describing the public policies which each alternative program requires.

Congress, skeptical like everyone else of the efficacy of Keynesian and monetarist remedies, seems prepared to give the notion of planning a whirl. On his own hook, Senator Humphrey has introduced the Balanced National Growth and Development bill which, with typical understatement, he describes as "the single most important piece of legislation in my twenty-five years of public service." Humphrey's measure would create the Office of Balanced National Growth and Development which, like the Initiative Committee's similarly titled Office of National Economic Planning, is to be located within the Executive Office. It would gobble up both the Office of Management and Budget and the Council of Economic Advisers. The Congressional counterpart is to be a new Joint Committee on Balanced National Growth and Development. Using as his forum the Joint Economic Committee of which he is chairman, Humphrey plans this spring to hold hearings on all the major proposals.

Rep. Augustus Hawkins from the Watts area of Los Angeles has reintroduced, with support, among others, of Henry Reuss and Hubert Humphrey again, his Equal Opportunity and Full Employment Act. Harking back to the original Wagner-Murray Full Employment Bill of 1945 (a pale shadow of which survived as the Employment Act of 1946), it would commit Congress and the President "To establish and guarantee the rights of all adult Americans able and willing to work to equal opportunities for useful paid employment at fair rates of compensation." The planning mechanism envisaged centers upon a Presidential Full Employment and National Pur-



Vadillo, Ovaciones (Mexico)

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poses Budget, which is supposed to explain just how full employment is to be achieved.

The details of these and other measures now floating about in Congressional committees, among them an independent measure sponsored by Representative Reuss, are less significant than a growing disposition among politicians, businessmen and academics to argue that something new ought to be tried. Henry Ford II and Felix Rohatyn of Lazard Frères have publicly supported planning. John Dunlop, the new Secretary of Labor, has uttered warm, though vague, words in the same vein.

A certain skepticism is naturally essential. The scarcely concealed premise from which these men of power bless any idea or policy is its compatibility with their own interests and position. I dare say that most supporters of planning privately judge themselves ideally suited for important roles in the Office of National Planning.

When an important segment of a major national party criticizes Gerald Ford as a radical, it need scarcely be said that the United States is a conservative nation. Accordingly, the best that can be expected of an actual movement toward conscious planning is more rational discussion in and out of Congress of alternative growth paths, differing emphases upon public and private activity, contrasting distributions of income and wealth, and distinguishable patterns of resource allocation.

The initial efforts of any planning office will inevitably be devoted to the collection of new data at the micro-level (in economists' jargon) of individual enterprises and industries. The best of information will resolve none of the dilemmas which at present agitate the public and the politicians. As long as capitalists and unions are on the stage, the contest over relative shares of income will continue. Some economists probably still believe in the Phillips curve, which argues that the only way to decrease inflation is to increase unemployment. However, our recent triumphs in achieving high unemployment and high inflation at the same time ought thoroughly to discredit this trade-off. Even without the help of the Phillips curve, manpower experts will not in the near future come to ready agreement about the concrete meaning of full employment.

Nevertheless, it is not merely utopian to hope that routine debate at budget time over alternative national policies, supported by more reliable data, would result in higher quality conservative as well as liberal policy. Nixon-Ford economic management is, or ought to be, most keenly distressing to intelligent conservatives and businessmen susceptible to the call of enlightened self-interest. On the comparatively rare occasions when liberals simultaneously control Congress and the White House, as in 1933-36 and, more ambiguously, 1965 and 1966, the impulses which eventuate in New Deals and Great Societies tend to be sabotaged by internal contradictions among the objectives and the sketchiness both of data and administrative evaluation. FDR's New Deal fluctuated uneasily between housebroken variants of corporate fascism after the fashion of the NRA, reversions to a decentralized rural economy under Rexford Tugwell's guidance, mild redistribution of income in the guise of Social Security and experiments with undistributed profits taxes, and anti-monopoly crusades led by Thurman Arnold and the Temporary National Economic Committee. Johnson's attempt to promote general growth and more power for the black and poor foundered mostly because of the Vietnam calamity, but also because of administrative malfunction and faulty original design.

Liberals and radicals ought not to endorse planning out of any foolish expectation of early "victory" in the sense of radically restructuring American society or substantially redistributing income and wealth in the direction of equality. A good planning system does offer liberals at least the promise of doing rather better than they usually do when the opportunity for moderate change arises.

In the short run, planning offers the best prospect for early emergence from economic doldrums; in the longer run it is essential to any movement toward a community marked by diminished inequalities of income, wealth and power. Nevertheless, a version of a traditional American doctrine is worth more than a passing comment. That is the historical distrust of corporate concentration, which for a century has stimulated cyclical episodes of antitrust efforts and attempts to regulate the conduct of large business units. A valuable new book, *The Roots of Inflation*, edited by John M. Blair, argues persuasively that the behavior of concentrated industries during the last few years explains the apparent paradox of simultaneous recession and inflation. In industries dominated by two, three, or four enormous firms—as is the case with much of manufacturing—corporate managers set target returns on capital investment with the aid of sophisticated computer programs. Although the attempt to reach these targets has the effect of somewhat moderating price increases during business cycle expansions, these increases may actually accelerate during economic contractions, because profit margins per unit on smaller sales are increased in the struggle to earn a desired total profit.

Although oligopolists *in extremis* do make price concessions, like the now terminated auto rebates of recent months, their general inclination is to raise prices in seasons of adversity as well as in sunnier economic weather. Gardiner Means, to whom economists owe a debt for past inquiries into pricing in oligopolistic industries which they seldom seem inclined to pay, concluded his essay on recent economic events (in *The Roots of Inflation*) with the comment about "the anatomy of inflation from September 1973 to September 1974" that "In this period of stagflation, the weighted index for the concentration-dominated industries rose 27 per cent, accounting for half the rise in the wholesale index, while average hourly compensation to labor in manufacturing during the same period rose only 10 per cent. The index dominated by competition rose less than 5 per cent."

One of these concentrated industries is energy, where the dominant firms control not only much of the oil, a great deal of refining and tanker capacity, and many retail outlets but also much of the coal and shale which are major alternative energy sources. The current energy crisis (or, according to analysis, non-crisis) is the joint creation of the seven oil Goliaths and their sometime partners,

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sometime opponents, the oil-producing countries of the Middle East, Africa and elsewhere.

Thus two of the three afflictions which trouble the United States—renewed energy shortage, persistent inflation and rising unemployment, relate directly to the power of a few large firms in a number of vital industries to control within broad limits both prices and production policy. Even unemployment would be more amenable to fiscal and monetary therapies if prices were more responsive to changes in market conditions and consumer preferences. If corporations reduced prices instead of production, recessions might be shorter and shallower.

This train of thought implies two possible responses. One may try to curb the policies of our corporate masters by guidelines, taxes on excess profit or mandatory controls over target pricing. "In the short run," Means is confident, "it is likely that this new form of inflation can be substantially controlled by government through the guidance of pricing by a few hundred of the largest manufacturing corporations." As an attempt of this kind, the Kennedy wage-price guideposts earn a mixed review from Means: "The guidepost program was both an outstanding success—in holding down administrative inflation while expanding demand through fiscal and monetary measures—as well as a partial failure." For, although by the end of 1965, the economy was operating at something like full employment, "this goal had been achieved at the expense of a serious distortion in the relation between prices and wage rates." The first had risen far more rapidly than the second. Under control programs labor unions tend to be zapped, to borrow Arnold Weber's later characterization of the effect of Nixon Phase I and Phase II controls. What happened during the 1961-65 expansion was a sharp rise in prices in the competitive sector and in the cost of living. As a result, "By 1965, the rise in living costs had absorbed more than a third of labor's legitimate productivity gains" and, naturally enough, "industry had significantly widened profit margins." Soon afterward the guideposts broke down.

Means himself does not infer from the record the necessity of the second possible response—fragmentation of swollen corporations and, in particular, divestiture of unrelated units by conglomerates. John Blair, the directing brain behind Kefauver's anti-monopoly investigations during the 1950s, appears more sympathetic to the remedy of radical antitrust. In his words, "until and unless . . . deconcentration takes place, inflation can be restrained only by the imposition of direct price and wage controls." He advances as a guide to controllers this advice: "As a further principle . . . the desirability of any form of regulation should be considered directly proportionate to its ability to bring about the same type of economic behavior that would prevail if the industry were competitive."

The control route is consistent with the planning approach. How plausible is radical antitrust, that "faded passion of American reform," to recall Richard Hofstadter's unkind characterization? Is another episode of antitrust fervor hard upon us? As Mark Green, a veteran Nader lieutenant, recently enumerated the portents in *The New York Times,* they include the Justice Department's suit against AT&T, Congressional increase of possible antitrust fines to the $1-million level, calls by Democrats in the new Congress for further "tightening and strengthening" of existing antitrust statutes and even the promise by Edward H. Levi, the new Attorney General that "Antitrust laws will have high priority, especially in areas of price-fixing and production-restricting arrangements between firms." We shall see. One test will be the attention paid to the energy oligopolists and the Big Three of Detroit. For it is unlikely that natural gas and domestic oil-refining capacity would both now be in short supply if there were genuine competition at each stage of the total process—extraction, transportation, refining and market. Are we ready to try real competition here or anywhere else? Have Americans stopped admiring giant corporations as triumphs of sheer size? I hope so. I don't think so.

It is just possible that, faced with the failure of traditional policies and the desperation of current problems, Congress will nerve itself to enact some mild planning measure this year. On the assumption that substantial change in conservative capitalist societies occurs when the economic weather is foul, such action may be the silver lining within exceedingly ominous clouds. □

OPERATION HIGH SCHOOL

THE PENTAGON MOVES IN

ROBERT K. MUSIL

The Army ad reproduced overleaf is now appearing in *Reader's Digest* and other mass circulation magazines. It expresses the growing involvement of the Armed Forces in the nation's educational system. Under Project Ahead (Army Help for Education and Development) a high school student can matriculate at any of 500 participating colleges and then enlist in the Army. While in the service, soldiers in the Ahead plan take college courses in their spare time, with the Army paying 75 per cent of the tuition, and accumulate credits for eventual transfer to the college where they are accepted. After service, a soldier-student thus has a slot waiting at alma mater and the G.I. Bill with which to continue an education. The Air Force offers a somewhat similar plan called the Air Force Community College. It also pays three-quarters of the tuition

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for off-duty courses, and assigns semester credits to its own training. The results are packaged in a "transcript," the airman or woman is awarded a diploma, and the whole lot is forwarded to the school of choice.

The dangers of Project Ahead and the Air Force Community College are real, but they may not be apparent to high school students (and their parents) desperate for a college education in a time of depression. The seductive schemes are part of a campaign to resell the Armed Forces to the public, and especially youth, after a sharp reaction against militarism during the years of Vietnam.

The increase of recruiting and related propagandistic activities at the high school level since the end of the draft is startling. In fiscal year 1970, there were 13,000 Armed Forces recruiters, and costs for recruiting of $137 million. Five years later, there are 32,000 recruiters (not counting thousands of active-duty personnel given temporary orders to return to their hometowns and recruit their friends). Total *direct* recruiting costs have jumped to $590 million.

As part of the total defense budget, the sum may seem small, but the alarming point is that, within the nation's educational system, the effect of such spending is overwhelming. The budget this year for Armed Forces recruiting would pay for the entire educational system of three cities the size of Washington, D.C. Or, put another way, if that amount of money were offered directly to high school students, it would provide 60,000 full four-year college scholarships at $2,500 a year. To these expenditures and their effect must be added Junior ROTC at about 1,200 secondary schools. This program enrolls about 180,000 boys and girls and costs the taxpayer $23 million in fiscal 1974 (not counting support from nearby bases and parallel expenses for local school systems). And backing up this giant sales campaign is the expensive overall Armed Forces information network. [See Derek Shearer, "The Brass Image," *The Nation,* April 20, 1970.]

All in all, close to a billion dollars a year is spent to convince the American public that it needs a standing Armed Forces of about 2.1 million people, and that in peacetime the military can and should provide a major educational and training program for the nation's youth. A recent Pentagon fact sheet, "Two Years with the Volunteer Force," projects these policies clear into the 1990s. Military planners write, "It is assumed that a total active-duty force of about 2.1 million will be maintained throughout the period, that the Services will stabilize their accession of women at the 1980 level, and that the proportion of Mental Category IV enlistees will remain at the current level (less than 10 per cent)."

For the year 1990, an accompanying chart shows that the military estimates it will recruit 37 per cent of the 18-year-old males who are qualified and eligible for military service, plus 40,000 females—a total of 390,000. Of 1.9 million males who will turn 18 in 1990, only 940,000 will be considered eligible and qualified. The rest will be "mentally/physically ineligible, those in mental and penal institutions, etc., and full-time college students." A generation after the "official" end of the war in Indochina, the Pentagon expects to be recruiting as many men (and a few women) as it does today. Assumed in this military policy are continuing educational, economic and class divisions in the United States. At the bottom are the ineligibles or "dropouts," who will end up in mental or penal institutions or in the streets. Then come the future workers or "vocationals," 37 per cent of whom will end up in the Armed Forces, the rest in the primarily industrial labor market. And at the top will be the boys and girls with the means to go to college.

A college President and an Army General want to tell you about a new plan that lets you enlist in the Army and start college at the same time.

"About eighteen months ago, the Army began to develop a bold, new concept in cooperative education. Project Ahead.

"The program began at one university in the Midwest. Interest was so great the Army decided to expand it across the country. Today, the program involves over 500 colleges and universities. And it's still growing.

"Project Ahead's structure is basically simple. But its benefits to young people and their parents are enormous.

"First of all, it is a unique individualized education plan. One that allows you to choose, if you qualify, an "alma mater" before you enlist. (Normally a participating school in your home area.) So no matter which college or colleges you attend while in the Army, you'll know beforehand the courses you'll need for credit at the school you want to graduate from.

"Secondly, the Army provides financial aid. College courses are available to you while you're in the Army. And the Army will pay up to 75% of the tuition for these courses. (After your enlistment's over, you'll be eligible for 36 months of financial assistance under the G.I. Bill.)

"We, in the educational community, are enthusiastic about this new plan. In fact, many of us believe Project Ahead will be as important to young people entering the Army as the G.I. Bill has been to veterans."

Dr. Arthur G. Hansen
President,
Purdue University

"Project Ahead is the most exciting idea in education that the Army has ever offered.

"Too often people in the service have taken college courses from one school, only to learn later those courses would not apply toward their degrees. Project Ahead intends to change all that.

"The Army, together with over 500 colleges and universities, has a plan. A cooperative system that lets you know ahead of time which courses you'll need for credit at the school you've applied to and want to graduate from.

"You'll be receiving up to 75% of the tuition for college courses you take in the Army. And now we can make sure you get credit for the college courses you successfully complete.

"Project Ahead is by no means a free ride. Because while you're working toward a college degree, you'll be serving your country. You'll be a soldier full time. A student part time. You'll train hard. You'll work hard. And you'll find that although a few years in the Army isn't the easiest way to earn a college education, it may be the most rewarding."

Gen. Fred C. Weyand
Chief of Staff,
U.S. Army

Introduc[illegible]ect Ahead:

For more information about the Army's new educational program, Project Ahead, send the postcard. Or call 800-523-5000 toll free. (In Pa., call 800-362-5696.)

Join the people who've joined the Army.

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How can such a caste program be put over in a democratic society? One way is to spread the idea that a large military force is needed to put down civil disturbances, riots and strikes. The other way is to convince a whole generation of the young that joining the military is the way to get ahead—that a hitch or two with Uncle Sam is exciting, educational and profitable. In the process, if the military's "target audience" learns to stop worrying and love the Armed Forces, so much the better.

One of the places where the military kicked off its fiscal 1975 campaign was the national convention of the American Personnel and Guidance Association (APGA) in New Orleans in April of last year. More than 10,000 of the country's guidance counselors were greeted by 200 recruiters, Armed Forces bands, free Coast Guard cutter rides, a talking John Paul Jones robot, a large revolving model of the B-1 bomber, slide shows, ranks of military information booths and a keynote address by then-Chief of Naval Operations, Adm. Elmo Zumwalt. The first two days of the convention were designated "Military Career Awareness Days."

According to a manual prepared for recruiters by N.W. Ayer & Sons (the Army's advertiser):

> The 1974 APGA Conference, in fact, offers that one chance to come into direct contact with the largest, most significant group of counselors assembled in one place during the year. . . . The positive ripple effect of favorably presenting the Army in this situation is critical. . . .

Since then, Armed Forces representatives and displays have been highly visible at state and regional APGA conventions, and will reappear in force at the 1975 annual APGA convention in New York. But in the end, the continuing presence of 32,000 recruiters at the nation's schools is what fills the ranks. According to testimony before the Defense Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, Army recruiters make 100 contacts before snagging one recruit. Thus, this year's crop of 200,000 Army enlistees resulted from roughly 20 million personal or telephone approaches to high school students. Obviously, many of these contacts are follow-ups on the same "prospect." Statistics are not kept, but it can be assumed that almost no high school senior can avoid some sales pitch from a recruiter. And by placing ads in youth magazines from *Scholastic* to *Hot Rod*, the military makes sure that students get the message at least several times a month.

One way that "contacts" are made is by offering the schools free vocational tests for their pupils. These Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery (ASVAB) tests are administered by a recruiter in uniform. This year they will be given to an estimated 1.6 million high school students, and every boy and girl who takes them will automatically be followed up by a recruiter.

ASVAB tests are already mandatory in New Hampshire; Kentucky may soon follow. Where they are not required or already used, recruiters can be extremely persistent in getting them into schools. The January issue of *U.S. Army Recruiting and Career Counseling Journal* reports:

> Sergeant Jean Mayse of the Philadelphia DRC used an ingenious method to get past balking high school officials to tell a gathering of 200 females about the educational possibilities of the Army. The school accepted her offer to stage a fashion show featuring present-day Women's Army Corps uniforms. . . . School officials were so impressed by the show, that they will now permit ASVAB testing.

ASVAB has already drawn some Congressional criticism. Rep. Charles A. Mosher (R., Ohio) asked for a GAO report on the tests when he received complaints about their use on 500 ninth-grade pupils in Elyria, Ohio. Mosher is concerned about the recruitment aspects of the ASVAB; also that it duplicates a less expensive Department of Labor vocational test. The labor tests cost 90¢ each; ASVAB is given free, but costs the government $2.50 each. ASVAB tests are not the only means whereby a recruiter gets a foot in the high school door. As schools turn increasingly to career development programs, more recruiters have been able to appear before classes or actually to teach them. Opportunities are tactfully solicited. For a recent conference on advertising and information at the Recruiting Command headquarters at Fort Sheridan, Ill., each recruiting district was asked to invite educational representatives from its area. Richmond, Va. recruiters invited Ellen Chewning, Supervisor of Guidance Services for the city. From this association came a pilot program at Maggie L. Walker High School, where sixty soldiers from Fort Lee, Va. taught 180 separate classes during "Career Awareness Week."

Among other tricks to gain admittance and acceptance at public high schools, the Army recommends military band concerts "to increase recruiter visibility." Band membership in the services totals nearly 6,000. When the appropriations committee questioned the need for so much martial music, at a price of more than $52 million in fiscal 1974, the Department of Defense offered minuscule cuts for the next year and replied:

> Bands . . . impact the professional image of the military to the potential recruit through radio and television appearances, concerts, shows and performances at local schools.

The military operates sports clinics at which active duty athletes put on special performances and offer instruction. This program has recently been cut back, but in fiscal 1974 Army sports clinics alone reached more than 12 million Americans through radio, TV and newspapers, and were performed before more than 550,000 high school students. The Army is also "a major booster of the National Varsity Club," the purpose being to reach "high school coaches, athletes and members of other organized groups on the secondary school level with Army information." As a booster, the Army helps produce motion pictures on physical fitness and athletics and literature on sports. If this isn't enough to motivate the adventurous, the Army can arrange to have screaming Rangers storm down from the top of a gymnasium straight to the feet of students watching eagerly in the bleachers below. The Army offers its own movies—*Basic Facts, The Decision Is Yours, First Cavalry Division* and *First Step*. These have already had 20,390 showings in schools around the country and for added verisimilitude the military will be glad to roll a tank or helicopter up to the school grounds, or arrange a tour of a local base.

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Recruiting and public relations at the high school level are not all geared, however, for the average Joe or Jill; there is also something for young geniuses. The Army Research Office in North Carolina helps to arrange the Army Junior Science and Humanities Program which has involved 7,000 students from thirty-seven regions of the country.

Finally, recruiters are instructed in a variety of ways to wheedle lists of high school seniors out of counselors and school officials. If they won't cooperate, recruiters try voting lists, the police, anybody who can name every senior in town. They are so eager to get these lists that one of them suggested the Army should set up a special fund to buy high school yearbooks.

Junior ROTC was introduced to the nation's high schools in 1916, but until 1964 was limited to 254 Army units. The ROTC Vitalization Act of that year raised the limit to 1,200 units and all services were permitted to participate. Since then, there has been steady growth up to the 1,200 mark and an enrollment of 180,000 boys and girls. (The law was amended in 1973 to allow girls to be counted toward the mandatory level of at least 100 students per unit.)

Although JROTC is promoted to the schools as a kind of citizenship and leadership training, the purpose is to sell acceptance of the Armed Forces and to obtain recruits. Regulation 145-2 puts it this way: "The JROTC and NDCC [National Defense Cadet Corps, a similar program] should create favorable attitudes and impressions toward the Services and toward careers in the Armed Forces." The programs are taught by retired officers and NCOs, who must be approved by the secretary of the service. Curriculum is prescribed by the Armed Forces, but JROTC instructors become regular members of the high school faculty in the department of military science. The student receives credit toward graduation from the three-year course and upon completion may skip a year of college ROTC, have an advantage on ROTC scholarship tests, or enlist at a higher pay grade (E-3). The participating school must pay part of the JROTC instructors' salaries, furnish space for drilling, storage and classes, as well as provide an armory and firing range for .22 rifle practice. A small unit costs the school about $20,000 a year.

These JROTC students also participate in camps at nearby military installations where they are introduced to weapons more potent than the .22. In order to develop "leadership," tens of thousands of high school students are annually introduced to grenade launchers, automatic weapons, flamethrowers and bazookas. Parents whose children attend such camps must sign a release agreeing not to make a claim against the government "for personal injury or death in the case of my son (ward) occurring at the camp, caused by the negligence or wrongful act or omission of any employee of the government."

School JROTC instruction consists mainly of drill and ceremony, and strictly military subjects. A second-year Army textbook, innocuously entitled *Intermediate Leadership Development*, contains this helpful information for 15-year-old students:

> You may want to take silent weapons in killing, stunning, or capturing individuals. The trench knife and bayonet are excellent weapons. . . . The blunt end of a hand ax can be used to stun an enemy; the cutting edge is employed to kill. A machete can also be used for cutting and stabbing. . . . Clubs, blackjacks, sticks, and pistol butts are used chiefly to stun; however, a hard blow on the temple or base of the neck may kill. A blackjack is improvised by filling a sock with wet sand. If a club or stick is used as a silent weapon, be certain it is short and solid. Another effective weapon, the garrotte, may be made by fastening a wood handle to each end of an 18-inch length of wire (fig. 12).

An Army test used in JROTC says of the massacre at Wounded Knee in 1890, "Not only had the Indians been pacified, but transportation, communication, and settlement were extended. . . . By the turn of the century the West had been won and the United States Army had a major role in the winning." As for Vietnam, the Army states that "the case of Vietnam illustrates graphically the danger and sacrifice the United States is willing to endure on behalf of its policy of military assistance in opposition to aggressive Communism." The Marine Corps boasts in its textbook, *Adventures in Leadership*: "Above all it [Vietnam] showed again that the Marine Corps was and is ready to establish a beachhead anywhere, and if necessary, stay and fight until the job is done."

Seen as a whole, military recruitment, educational liaison, JROTC and information programs are a massive and growing invasion of the nation's public high schools. They violate the spirit of independent school systems and their traditional separation from church and state. But if the military is to maintain a force of 2.1 million or more, as the Pentagon plans, it must acquire the young men and women either directly by conscription, or through massive propaganda, intrusion in the educational system and the limitation of other civilian job opportunities and training programs.

The military invasion of the schools has met protest and criticism in some local areas, and from a few national peace and church groups such as the Fellowship of Reconciliation, American Friends Service Committee, CCCO/An Agency for Military and Draft Counseling, the Mennonites, and the United Church of Christ. Members of these groups, who make up a coalition called the Interfaith Committee on Draft and Military Information, contributed a small, but fairly effective counter-presence to the military at the New Orleans APGA convention and at some state and regional conferences. They will be on hand at this year's APGA convention in New York.

Faced with the almost impossible tasks of challenging JROTC units as they turn up around the country, or following in the steps of 32,000 recruiters, peace groups are now considering wider measures as well as education at the local level. Some of these include a suit challenging the legality of new units when many existing ones are beneath the statutory 100 student requirements; a professional curriculum study of JROTC texts; and support for a bill to be introduced by Rep. Ronald Dellums (D., Calif.) that would eliminate JROTC. If militarism in education is to be stopped, a broad spectrum of citizens and educators will have to be alerted and involved. Jack Travers of the Fellowship of Reconciliation has already signed up a group—including Robert Jay Lifton, Jona-

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than Kozol, Robert Coles, Elise Boulding and Bayard Rustin—for a national Committee on Militarism in Education, patterned after a similar movement headed by John Dewey in the 1930s. CCCO puts out a newsletter, *Counter-Pentagon* that traces recruitment and militarism in education. And the Center for National Security Studies is planning, along with CCCO and other groups, to establish a broad Citizens' Inquiry into Military Policy and the Nation's Youth.

This spring, as the new Congress focuses on the Pentagon's request for yet another record budget, one area that deserves attention, amidst the bombers and missiles and submarines, is the level of military manpower and the costs and methods used to maintain it. If the Congress fails to cut back on troops, recruitment, JROTC, bands, information programs and all the propaganda that now pours over the nation's youth, the erosion of a free and independent secondary school system—and the accompanying loss of critical-minded citizens—is part of the price all of us will finally pay. □

DRIP IRRIGATION

ISRAEL TEACHES CALIFORNIA

ALICE MARQUIS

San Diego, Calif.

A range of jagged, boulder-strewn hills stretches northward toward the desert from San Diego. It is a land on whose peaks rattlesnakes bake lazily in the sun, while buzzards wheel overhead. The fingers of winter fog grope insidiously into the valleys and hot blasts of a dry wind called the Santa Ana periodically scour the peaks.

In this unlikely setting, an agricultural revolution is in the making. On these dry slopes as steep as 60 degrees, among boulders as bulky as a Chevrolet, young avocado trees are today stretching green branches toward the sky. In a couple of years, each acre of these trees will produce some $2,500 worth of fruit.

The secret of making this wasteland bloom is drip irrigation, a simple new system of watering which makes plants grow startlingly faster and stronger while using far less precious water than does conventional irrigation. In California alone, acreage under drip irrigation has been doubling every year since the system was first introduced in 1972. This year, approximately 40,000 acres are being drip-watered. Some 15,000 of those acres are in San Diego County, where the pioneering experiments in the United States are taking place.

Drip irrigation was developed first in Israel, where national survival depends on squeezing the last drop of usefulness out of water. The basic idea, evolved over the past fifteen years, is to dribble water at the rate about a gallon per hour directly to the plant roots, rather than spray as much as 60 gallons per hour into the air or channel it into furrows where perhaps half is lost to evaporation. At first, the Israelis were pleased at having found a way to stretch the available fresh water. Next, their agronomists discovered that brackish water, previously thought lethal to plants, could be used in a drip system. Bumper crops of tomatoes are now being harvested on fields in the Negev that are watered from the sea.

Reports of the Israeli success caught the interest of C.D. Gustafson, an agricultural extension agent based at the University of California, San Diego. In 1969, he spent a sabbatical year in Israel, studying with a Hebrew University specialist, Dr. Dan Goldberg. When Gustafson returned home, America's most promising new farm technique began.

Within a year, drip emitters based on Israeli patents were being mass-produced in the United States; today, the U.S. Department of Agriculture lists sixty-one manufacturers of drip-irrigation equipment, including such giants as Motorola, Uniroyal, Dupont and the 3M Co. The system—with various refinements and variations—has been successfully applied to every crop from alfalfa to zucchini in locations as widely scattered as Australia, South Africa and Central America.

In Israel, 70 per cent of new farms rely on drip irrigation for vegetables and grapes; they use about half as much water as conventional watering systems would require. In Australia, the first 5-acre test plot was put under drip irrigation in 1969. Today, about 25,000 acres are being drip-watered. Grapes now grow in New South Wales in areas with only 22 to 24 inches of rain annually; 28 to 30 inches had always been thought the minimum. In Anaheim, Calif., a strawberry cooperative found that its growers could produce 200 extra trays of berries per acre with the new system.

But San Diego County remains the American headquarters for drip irrigation. In July 1970, Gustafson and a handful of drip apostles sponsored the First Annual Drip Irrigation Seminar in Escondido, Calif. Some 600 local growers gathered in the local high school auditorium to hear an Israeli specialist, Dr. Baruch Gornat, describe the new system. Last summer, more than 2,000 registrants from thirty countries attended the week-long Second International Drip Irrigation Congress in San Diego. They heard more than 100 papers whose scientific detachment masked a growing excitement.

Delegates from Israel reported that agricultural production there had doubled in the past fourteen years, while total water use increased only 25 per cent. Australians reported that they were using secondary effluent from a sewage treatment plant to produce wine

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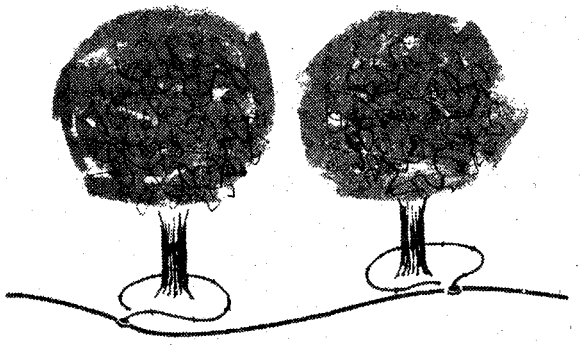

grapes. Plums and oranges will flourish on half the usual amount of water, a San Joaquin Valley agronomist, Dr. Falih Aljibury, reported. Even in Florida and Oregon, where water is abundant, drip irrigation is useful to apply fertilizer and extra moisture during seasonal droughts.

A new professional group, the International Drip Irrigation Association, grew out of last summer's congress, and in February a new bimonthly magazine devoted entirely to drip irrigation began publishing.

A great advantage of drip irrigation, in addition to saving water, is that it can bring under cultivation millions of acres previously thought too steep, too rocky or too infertile for farming. The slow drip of water does not erode soil from steep slopes and the system allows fertilizer, weed-control chemicals and pesticides to be injected directly to the roots.

"It's like hydroponics, but much cheaper and simpler," says Bill Johnson, a farm equipment dealer who helped Gustafson spread the word of drip irrigation in San Diego County. "With avocados or fruit trees, we use the soil only to support the roots. All the water and nutrients are injected through the drip system."

In the hot, dry belt of Southern California, even the salt and mineral-laden water of the Colorado River costs up to $100 per acre-foot. With traditional sprinklers, an acre of avocado orchard slurps up about 7 acre-feet of water a year. With drip, the saving is 75 per cent the first year trees are planted, diminishing to 25 per cent in the fifth and later years. In the San Joaquin Valley, where the sinking ground-water table threatens to dry up one of America's most lush farm areas, widespread use of drip irrigation may save as many as 4.5 million acre-feet of water each year. That is equivalent to a river running at a rate of 5,500 cubic feet of water per second, every day of the year.

Because fertilizer can be added to each drop of water, growth of some crops can only be called spectacular. Three-year-old avocado trees, for example, are the same size and bear as much fruit as do conventionally watered five-year-olds. Grapefruit trees, which normally bear marketable crops after four years, are loaded with fruit in the second year. Drip irrigation and feeding spurs similarly lush growth in grapes, tomatoes and all sorts of fruit and nut trees.

It is hard to believe that barren boulder-studded slopes will grow anything, much less a valuable crop like avocados, but Johnson says that such terrain can be even more productive than flatlands. The rocks hold daytime heat and create a "greenhouse effect." Consequently, the rock slopes that only ten years ago were valued at $5 per acre are selling for as much as $10,000 per acre. Land values are so high, in fact, that agriculture has become a more profitable suburban venture than subdivisions.

This kind of agriculture has lured city and suburban dwellers into farming 5- or 10-acre "ranchettes." These "gentlemen farmers" buy the raw land. Then they hire a professional service to clear the brush, plant the trees, install the irrigation and fertilizing system, pick the fruit and market it. The owner gets a check at the end of the month.

Johnson, a fourth-generation farmer whose grandfather planted the first orange tree in California's Orange County, runs such a service. His Johnson Agricultural Corp. (its acronym supplies his racy slogan—JAC the Dripper) has grown in four years from twenty employees to 160—even though drip irrigation cuts labor by two-thirds. So great was the rush to plant citrus and avocado orchards in his territory, near Fallbrook, that he was "almost swallowed up in the landslide." Even now, some would-be farmers must wait until a fresh supply of seedling trees matures in 1976.

While the drip irrigation gold rush gathers, experiments continue to perfect and simplify the system. On the Department of Agriculture test patch in what used to be a rocky wasteland called Gopher Canyon, tensiometers now monitor soil moisture and turn the water on automatically. Improved filters have overcome the system's worst headache—clogging of the tiny emitter heads by impurities in the water. The cost of making and installing a typical drip system has already drifted down to $600 per acre (a comparable sprinkler system costs $700). Simpler parts, the savings of mass production and lively competition should drop the price still lower.

The most promising aspect of drip irrigation lies in its ability to accept brackish or even sea water. Israeli experiments have found that many plants (and especially newly developed salt-resistant varieties) do not absorb the salt or harmful minerals in water as long as the soil remains moist. (But if the soil dries out even briefly, everything dies.) Thus, drip irrigation promises to bring under cultivation untold acres of land which await only water—and alert farmers—to blossom.

It would be tempting to conclude from the first glowing reports on drip irrigation that technology will once again save mankind from imminent starvation. But such a conclusion may be premature. For the primitive farmers of vast stretches of the world, drip irrigation seems impossibly complex and expensive. And as long as the owners of immense *latifundias* in Latin America and Africa can extract high profits from cheap labor, they will hardly invest in sophisticated new machinery. Drip irrigation may be only a new device whereby agribusiness can squeeze extra profits out of the land. For the developed countries, drip irrigation looks like another giant leap forward, while the Third World falls another step behind.

But with world hunger already a bitter reality and with the increasing predictions of devastating famine within the next decade, any device that promises to increase the food supply is dramatic news. □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

CIA: Can We Reform It? Can We Afford It At All?

1. Watching the Watchmen

INSIDE THE COMPANY: CIA Diary. *By Philip Agee. Penguin Books, Ltd. 640 pp. 95 pence.*

Rep. Michael J. Harrington

Like corpses sent to the bottom of a river, stories of CIA wrongdoing were bound to come to the surface eventually. But few critics would have predicted that so much incriminating evidence could float to the top in just half a year.

It has been about that long since revelations of CIA activity in Chile first made front-page news, coinciding with numerous articles and books attempting to penetrate the fog surrounding the U.S. intelligence community. Since then, accounts of widespread domestic surveillance have stimulated the public's interest all the more, finally provoking the Congress to take action.

The Central Intelligence Agency, for its part, took the counteroffensive early. When *The CIA: The Cult of Intelligence* was in proof, the agency had portions censored, claiming that the authors, John Marks and Victor Marchetti, were not allowed to use certain information because of the secrecy oaths they signed when they were on the inside. As a result, the book was published with gaps of white space where sensitive information was deleted.

Now another damning book by a former CIA agent has come out, but this one requires no filling-in of the blanks. Unlike the Marks-Marchetti book, it couldn't be censored because the author, Philip Agee, gave the publication rights for the first edition to a British publishing company and does not plan to return to the United States until it is published here—which it will be, because publishers don't sign secrecy oaths.

When it appears in American bookstores, *Inside the Company: CIA Diary*, even though it is long and detailed, will probably be as successful as it has been in the British Commonwealth. In fact, it may be for just this reason that it has succeeded. Public curiosity has been aroused but far from satisfied by the limited accounts available thus far.

To those who have followed the CIA or U.S.-Latin American politics more than casually, much of Agee's information is at least predictable. For the experts, much was common knowledge. Almost since the beginning of the Republic, the United States has manhandled Latin American nations, and the potential dimensions of CIA activity have been recognized since the agency was created at the start of the cold war in 1947. What shocks us in Agee's book are the specifics. Based on the quality and quantity of the CIA's operations in just three Latin American nations, the worldwide possibilities are staggering.

Written in diary form (though the author admits to having reconstructed his twelve-year association with "the Company"), Agee traces his development from a Midwestern Catholic university through tours with Air Force intelligence at the beginning of his CIA career to specialized covert training, assignments in Ecuador, Uruguay, Washington, D.C. and Mexico, and ultimately, to his estrangement from the agency. The concluding chapters, describing the tribulations of writing the book with CIA harassment, demonstrate the CIA's less-than-official attempts at censorship.

Agee's stories of the life of an agent run from the mundane to the bizarre. Hours are spent opening and reading mail; intricate plans are made to coerce potential informants. And, like every organization man, Agee tells of playing golf with the boss and worrying about promotions.

Of course, each bureaucracy has its stories to tell, but behind the anecdotes in Agee's account lies a bigger story—one of buying and selling state officials (Agee lists four Latin American Presidents) and of governing governments (Agee relates the CIA's manipulation of Ecuador's political parties, press and military which resulted in the 1963 coup).

As Agee tells it, his first years in the service were satisfying, and he worked hard. It wasn't until the U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic and his own awakening to the brutality of CIA-supported governments that he began to question what he was doing. His disenchantment, which stemmed from assignments such as infiltrating the Olympic Games in 1968, led him to general conclusions about U.S. foreign policy.

Even with its focus on personal history, the book illustrates fundamental dilemmas about our foreign relations. What ought the United States to do abroad? What tenets should guide our decisions?

Last December President Ford, in explaining U.S. involvement in the so-called "destabilization" of Salvador Allende's government in Chile, gave an answer that reflects official thinking since 1947. "Our government, like other governments, does take certain actions in the intelligence field to help implement foreign policy and protect national security."

At the bottom of this response is an "anything goes" mentality that fails to draw a distinction between intelligence gathering and covert intervention. Congress shares the blame for the repercussions of this thinking. Neither the House nor the Senate has seriously pondered the implications of lumping benign intelligence activity with aggressive subversion. In fact, oversight committees, by refusing over the years to ask pertinent questions about CIA operations, have not faced the fact that both exist.

Consequently, CIA operations have been guided by only one rule: don't get caught. The result has been intervention such as Agee describes in Ecuador and Uruguay, neither of which poses even the remotest hemispheric threat to our "national security."

Olin Robinson of Bowdoin College has explained the phenomenon simply: "The CIA suffers from a syndrome which might be labeled 'all dressed up and nowhere to go.' It is an organization with extraordinary capabilities employing some of the most talented people in government service (the Watergate personalities notwithstanding). The natural bureaucratic tendency is toward self-perpetuation, and no large organization is likely to change its policies and operations without external pressure to do so."

Since Agee started his book three years ago, the serious threat to the nation's

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well-being posed by the existence of an intelligence agency that is armed for cold war has increased. It is clearly up to the Congress to put the heat on the CIA so it will not frustrate efforts for détente.

This is the only realistic approach. The ability of the United States to dictate to the rest of the world, including Latin America, has diminished. And it has become increasingly obvious that where we have intervened in the affairs of other nations, we have not necessarily improved the quality of life for their citizens but rather supported repressive regimes such as that of the Chilean junta. With the increasing economic interdependence of nations, international opinion carries more weight and demands that the United States treat its neighbors civilly.

A re-evaluation of the Central Intelligence Agency in the light of these foreign policy considerations should be one of the main tasks of the Congressional select committees that will be investigating intelligence in the coming months. While the CIA may not be obsolete, as Agee suggests, its policies certainly are anachronistic. And there is reason to believe that company men as dedicated as Agee seems to have been will be valuable once agency guidelines are squared with legitimate foreign policy concerns. In the meantime, Agee's testimony is a useful and necessary reminder of the genuine horrors of unchecked spying. □

2. Who Profits by Worldsnoop?

THE CIA AND THE CULT OF INTELLIGENCE. *By Victor Marchetti and John D. Marks. Alfred A. Knopf. 398 pp. $8.95. Paper: Dell Publishing Co. $1.75.*

THE SECRET TEAM: The CIA and its Allies in Control of the United States and the World. *By L. Fletcher Prouty. Prentice-Hall. 496 pp. $8.95. Paper: Ballantine Books. $1.95.*

JAMES HIGGINS

If it is true, as world figures of "the Socialist camp" have recently been suggesting, that the international struggle between their way of life and ours is shifting from military confrontation to ideological competition, where does that leave the CIA? Under scrutiny. Reporters, book writers—some of them with direct or associated CIA experience—a Presidential commission and two select Congressional committees, one from the House, one the Senate, have placed the CIA in the most public position since its creation as a super-secret, financially unaccountable, globally free-wheeling-and-dealing gang of operatives and operators in 1947. That is to say, the Central Intelligence Agency was founded on cold-war premises, assigned to beat the bad guys by hook or crook, advised that the phrase "national security" would be employed on the highest levels to justify any damn thing that went right or wrong—expected, in short, to serve as roving agents of the policy of corporate geographical expansionism which had its origins in the Westward-ho era of the 19th century, initiated almost as soon as the Civil War came to an end.

This has to be clear: that the CIA has functioned, bankrolled by billions of public money to be sure, in behalf of private economic interests—of what used to be called simply big business. It is not made clear, however—not "perfectly clear" perhaps I should say—in much of what has so far been written about the CIA. Exceptions, let me quickly add, can be noted. For example, material published by NACLA (North American Congress on Latin America) and by certain other radical and liberal institutions has been informed by the CIA-big business perspective. I gather, too, that the book by the former CIA officer Philip Agee, already released in England and also scheduled for U.S. publication here by Straight Arrow Books (Rolling Stone), reflects such a point of view. Agee discussed his book, *Inside The Company: CIA Diary*, in an interview with John Gerassi carried by a weekly Boston periodical, *The Real Paper*, in the issue of February 19. "I have learned over the years," Agee said, "that the CIA and the government as a whole does not represent the interest of the people of the United States. Its main function—and this is clear in our policies in Latin America, in those policies which I helped to carry out for twelve years—is to help, to represent that class of Americans who profit in Latin America . . . the rich."

There seems to be a certain logic, a logic of time and development, governing the process of the production of books about the CIA. Compare, for instance, the political-economy understanding of Agee with that indicated by the authors of two earlier volumes, *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* by Victor Marchetti and John D. Marks, and *The Secret Team* by L. Fletcher Prouty. (Both are now available in paperback; Marchetti served as much time in the CIA as Agee, mostly in Washington; Marks was once a State Department intelligence analyst; Prouty, nine years an Air Force colonel, acted as liaison officer in procurement between the Department of Defense and the CIA.) At one point Marchetti-Marks, with what I assume to be agreement, quote the columnist Tom Braden, "former high-ranking CIA covert expert," as saying in January 1973: "Josef Stalin's decision to attempt conquest of Western Europe by manipulation, the use of fronts and the purchase of loyalty turned the Agency (CIA) into a house of dirty tricks. It was necessary. Absolutely necessary, in my view. But it lasted long after the necessity was gone." Prouty takes the retrospective position that U.S. leaders (such as Harry Truman) got off on the wrong foot by automatically "reacting" to Communist strategy and tactics rather than buckling down to the formation of an affirmative, presumably democratic course of action in the post-World War II world.

I have no intention of downgrading the Marchetti-Marks and Prouty books. They are valuable, instructive works, written by "insiders" who know what they're talking about and who finally discovered that they were compelled to take the risks involved in revealing CIA subversion of democratic tenets. Furthermore, both books seem to have played a part in persuading members of Congress, after almost twenty-eight years, to establish special committees charged with responsibility for checking out CIA activities at home as well as abroad. That may be somewhat less significant than, say, the influence Tom Paine's *Common Sense* had upon governmental matters but it is, nonetheless, in these days when nearly almighty power is attributed to the electronic media, quite an accomplishment for print. Which is, also, the medium of expression of Seymour Hersh of *The New York Times*, Laurence Stern of *The Washington Post* and Jack Anderson, all of whose reports on the CIA no doubt contributed to the Congressional decisions—urged there by, among others, Rep. Michael Harrington of Massachusetts, Sen. William Proxmire of Wisconsin and Sen. Frank Church of Idaho. Church, by the way, heads the Select Committee of the Senate, where his experience as chairman of the Foreign Relations subcommittee on multi-

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national corporations may come in handy in getting to the fundamental CIA point—that it is in cahoots with big business, which reigns, now more openly than ever, in the executive branch. Indeed, the story of the journalistic exposure of the role of the CIA in world affairs begins much earlier with *The Nation*'s special issue devoted to that very subject, written by the veteran journalist, Fred J. Cook, and published June 24, 1961.

At any rate, the Prouty and Marchetti-Marks books and the Philip Agee account are different from books about the CIA written before 1971, when it became evident that the cold war, and its attendant devil theory of communism, were being toned down. The rationale for earlier semi-official documentaries by leaders of the agency —Allen Dulles, who is listed as author of *The Craft of Intelligence*, and Lyman B. Kirkpatrick, writer of *The Real CIA* —no longer applied, politically speaking. This gives their books, already, a flavor of ancient history. And even though the same cannot be said for some other books rooted in that period—*The Invisible Government* by David Wise and Thomas B. Ross, an ambitious and valiant job of investigative reporting; *The Secret War* by Sanche de Gramont; Stewart Steven's *Operation Splinter Factor*; and Miles Copeland's *Without Cloak or Dagger*—the fact remains that these were done by outsiders. Whereas Prouty, Marchetti and Agee were CIA insiders, whose rethinking of their lives, their roles, the nature of the agency's "operations," could not have occurred, in my opinion, until big business switched the foreign policy signals. This switch also accounts for the distinction between the objectives of Marchetti and Prouty on the one hand and Agee on the other.

All three have horror stories to tell. But Prouty and Marchetti, first on the scene with their books critical of the CIA, concentrate mainly on the word I have just placed in quotes: "operations." Both mention Harry Truman's 1963 remark: "I never had any thought when I set up the CIA that it would be injected into peacetime cloak-and-dagger operations." Marchetti gets even more specific, using former CIA Director Richard Helms as source: "Operations" involves overthrowing foreign governments, subverting elections, bribing officials and waging "secret" wars. He goes on to make the point that "the Watergate scandal has also opened up the CIA to increased scrutiny." Undoubtedly it has. Whether or not Watergate was a CIA "operation," who yet knows? But if the word "foreign" is omitted from the Helms-derived description of what the CIA has been up to for more than a quarter of a century, the words come pretty close to fitting as much as we so far have learned about the Watergate affair.

The Secret Team and *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, as I get their message, argue that in practicing cloak-and-dagger operations all over the world, the CIA has ruthlessly expanded its 1947 legal mandate and become a law unto itself. It has converted, in other words, a legitimate commission to collect information into the kind of gangster-style activity to which Helms refers and with which many of us are now familiar, from Iran and Guatemala in the early 1950s to Chile in 1973. Prouty and Marchetti imply that if only the CIA could be re-restricted to the gathering of intelligence, it might still serve a useful purpose. Agee, in his interview with Gerassi, says: "If the American people could learn this [how the overthrow of Salvador Allende in Chile was financed chiefly by a CIA front, the American Institute for Free Labor Development] and all the other frauds perpetrated on them by the CIA . . . I am convinced that the clamor would be so great that Congress would destroy the CIA." If, as I am speculating, the new 1971 tack in U.S. foreign policy toward the Soviet Union and China caused disturbances within the CIA, it is plain that Agee's disillusionment has brought him to political conclusions more drastic than those of Prouty and Marchetti—and of a number of others in the Congress and in public life, who continue to envision a safer and more respectable CIA, one, so to speak, from whose hands the guns will be removed.

But what does big business envision? Well, the violent counterrevolution in Chile several years after competitive coexistence had been announced as the international aim of the United States offers a clue. As does, also, CIA endeavors to suppress and then censor the Marchetti-Marks book—which they and their publishers, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., assisted by the American Civil Liberties Union, are still fighting in the courts. *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, the first book the U.S. Government ever attempted to censor by legal action before publication, finally appeared with 168 spaces in the text where only the word "DELETED" is to be found. The context makes evident that certain key deletions refer to Chile.

On September 4, 1974, a Hersh report in *The New York Times* began: "The director of the Central Intelligence Agency has told Congress that the Nixon Administration authorized more than $8 million for covert activities by the agency in Chile between 1970 and 1973 to make it impossible for President Salvador Allende Gossens to govern." Could this news have been one of the "DELETED"s from Marchetti's book? I think so. Anyway, by September 16 the news had been confirmed by no less than President Ford, who, in reply to a press conference question, started out by saying, "Let me answer in general." He did so: "Our government, like other governments, does take certain actions in the intelligence field to help implement foreign policy and protect national security." He then went on to say that as he understood it there was no direct U.S. involvement in the "coup itself" (of September 11, 1973) but that, yes, "in a period of time, three or four years ago," an effort was made to help preserve "opposition newspapers and electronic media . . . and opposition political parties" in Chile. "I think," said the President, "this is in the best interest of the people of Chile and certainly in our own interest." Here is where background reading in Marchetti-Marks, Prouty, the Agee interview and, for that matter, most literature on the CIA, comes to the aid of anyone trying to fathom the serious political complications that would cause a chief of state, administering a foreign policy of coexistence, to take on the responsibility of attempting to give warrant to conduct that contradicts such a policy. At some point this contradiction seems to have hit formerly dedicated CIA representatives, who really believed during their company service that "national security" and "our own interest" were synonymous with defense of democracy, on all fronts and by any means necessary, against communism. As soon as their faith was shaken, they proceeded to struggle with the contradiction by writing their own case histories of the CIA.

Their books furnish evidence for the rationality of their decision. But the Ford Administration, faced with the same contradiction, persists in irrationality. No wonder the government went all-out to delete Chile references from the Marchetti-Marks book. No wonder Ford had to step (be pushed?) forward to repeat, as in an echo chamber, national security nonsense to support a case for CIA interference in Chile, once the deleted matter came to light in reports by Hersh, Stern and others. The point is that Chile, at one and the same time, implied the old national security argument to have been a historical lie—a big lie, to use the words once applied to Nazi deception of the Germans when big business in Germany sought domina-

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tion of world resources and people—and also threatened to reveal that under cover of competitive coexistence with the giants of the Socialist camp, the CIA and its masters intended to continue playing dirty tricks wherever possible, their aims being necessarily less grand than the Nazis', and their techniques more sophisticated, but both aims and techniques comparable in design to what Hitler's backers had in mind.

This substantially explains why CIA intervention in Chile, together with the more recent disclosures that the CIA was keeping tabs on thousands of U.S. citizens—if deception appears to be failing, better prepare plans for control—have at last convinced members of Congress to investigate the agency and its works. I think it is significant, too, that according to a Gallup poll many people suspect the investigating commission established by President Ford and chaired by Vice President Rockefeller has been rushed into action to absolve and save the CIA. A plausible suspicion, no doubt, considering the conservative character of the commission. The stage has been set, in any event, for a contest between a relatively progressive Congress and a big-business-dominated executive branch on the question of the past, present and future of the CIA.

I am unable to find reasons to expect the result to be its abolition, as I.F. Stone, in typical tangy prose, recommended in the February 20th issue of *The New York Review of Books*. More likely the hearings will develop an issue which should have high priority in the political campaigns of 1976, although that, of course, depends on how plain the issue is made to the people by those in charge of the hearings, those who report them and those still within the ranks of the CIA—or having connections with it—who may follow the courageous trail blazed by such as Prouty, Marchetti, Marks and Agee. □

POEMS BY TALAT SAIT HALMAN

Talat Sait Halman is a poet, critic and translator who was Turkey's first Minister of Culture, 1971. He is currently a professor of Turkish studies at Princeton University, and composes his poems both in English, as in this case, and in Turkish.

Out of a loveless heart
Stare
The executioner's eyes

•

So many dogs
Lurch
In a hero's shadow

•

Only those who are drowning
Know the majesty of the sea

•

When a tyrant
Sits on the throne
All children are old men

•

A poet
Imprisoned
Becomes a thousand poets

•

Waiting
Turns a thousand roses
Into one

•

If it has faith
The buried bird
Flies in the ground

•

The eyes
Of the desert bird
Are full of the sea

And a Good Novelist, Worse Luck

ARNOLD BENNETT. *By Margaret Drabble. Alfred A. Knopf. 379 pp. $10.*

PETER WOLFE

Bennett always compels us. Among his contemporaries, Conrad is the greater artist; Wells, more brilliant; Kipling, more versatile and exotic. Yet none of them casts the same spell on us as Bennett the north-of-Englander turned Mayfair dandy; Bennett the nervous, fussy husband whose hyper-fastidiousness helped wreck his marriage; Bennett the literary hack. We never tire of new explanations either for his stammer or his insomnia. Up looms the sniffing profile—the cowlick, the bushy mustache, the lips pursed to hide the weasel teeth beneath, the tucked-in chin—and we are transfixed. Why?

Like Hamlet, Bennett makes us look into our secret selves. We admire the way he overcame the handicaps caused by his carping, domineering father and the strict Methodist training of his youth. We share Margaret Drabble's puzzlement over his ability to do so much and keep so many ideas in his head at once. Not only did he write *The Old Wives' Tale* (which comes to 640 pages in the Modern Library reprint) in less than a year, but during the same period he also wrote two short novels, short stories, many articles, and a book or two of popular philosophy.

Just as fascinating as this enormous energy and sinew is Bennett's ability to enjoy the fruits of it. He cycled, swam, and played tennis. Sporting his peacock wardrobe, he attended plays and concerts. Headwaiters in the posh restaurants of Paris and London knew him by sight. He sailed his yacht everywhere in European waters. Journalist, tradesman and literary artist, he spent his lavish earnings lavishly. And why shouldn't he? Bennett had the moral courage to be true to himself.

But he has a special appeal for his new biographer. Margaret Drabble's mother also came from the grim, rocky Potteries, or Five Towns area, that produced Bennett. A Yorkshire woman herself, Drabble shares the provincial passion for the capital that seized him when he moved to London in 1889. In fact, as one provincial writing about another, she views her biography as "partly an act of self-exploration." That common background, her scholarly diligence and her sincere admiration for a thoroughly decent man bring Arnold Bennett to life.

Drabble builds a good case for Bennett as a major novelist. Like the French realists he admired, Bennett revealed beauty in squalor, the extraordinary in the commonplace. He was content to be on a level with reality. That attitude allowed him to write originally and movingly about subjects most writers ignore. An excellent communicator, Bennett mediated skillfully between popular and highbrow tastes, reaching many while offending very few.

"Bennett is one of the few novelists who can write with sympathy and detail about the domestic preoccupations of women," Margaret Drabble says—and she examines the effects of cooking, cleaning and child-rearing upon his female characters' psyches. She also reminds us that Bennett's first London interlude, 1889-1900, took place in an era of rising feminism, much like that of the present decade. His ability to treat women with insight and affection presents an interesting contrast with other English novelists more highly regarded than he. For example, as Drabble argues, D.H. Lawrence, champion of vitalism and foe

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of Bennett's alleged acceptance of misery as a condition of life, creates women with less spunk than those of his resigned, morally acquiescent fellow artist:

> How interesting it is that Bennett, who could write with dull banality about masters and slaves and submission, should have made all his true heroines fight till the end, with an inner indestructible core, whereas Lawrence's women find themselves only in submission and destruction.

As the passage suggests, Drabble's admiration for Bennett is not narrowly intellectual. No hero-worshiper, she points out Bennett's faults both as a writer and a person. But his modesty, his generosity and his gift for happiness went a great way toward overcoming those defects. He was a sensitive, humane figure in a materialist age. Though he believed in making money, he wanted others to share in the good things money bought. He refused a knighthood; he worked full-time on various war committees from 1914 to 1918 for no salary; he spotted and encouraged talent in younger writers, like Lawrence, Graves and Faulkner; to the last, he tried out new subjects and ideas in his fiction.

Drabble writes of these things with a touching warmth. Welding the factual and the imaginative, her portrait of Bennet is clean, strong and genial. □

Reclaiming the American Idea

NOTES ON THE OLD SYSTEM: To Transform American Politics. *By Marcus Raskin. David McKay Co. 180 pp. $6.95. Paper $2.95.*

MAX GORDON

Marcus Raskin is a co-founder and a co-director of the Institute for Policy Studies, a left-wing think tank in Washington. He and others in the institute's leadership were once associated with the nation's national security apparatus but in recent years have emerged as among the most trenchant and influential critics of that apparatus, as of U.S. society and foreign policy generally. He writes that he prepared these "non-definitive" *Notes* as one who has seen the moral, political and intellectual bankruptcy of our "best and brightest"; the development of "Frankenstein qualities" in the nation's national security, defense and economic institutions; a succession of Presidents who believed they embodied the general will separate from the people, and a Congress divorced from both power and the citizenry.

His thesis is that U.S. corporate and bureaucratic interests, considering their ends best served by a strong executive, have successfully imposed upon the nation an imperial Presidency responsive to those ends. Both the people and Congress have been rendered powerless in the face of this Presidential "tyranny." On his own initiative and with "proper advice from the ruling elites," a President can make war, commit troops, meet "national security needs" requiring vast resources of men and materiel. He can whittle and change programs, transfer and hide funds, in effect transforming Congress into another audience incapable of affecting the course of events. Traditional distinctions between war and peace are no longer made. This national security mentality and state, combined with the notion of the President acting in the general welfare, has enhanced state and Presidential power for the profitable expansion of U.S. capitalism.

As Raskin sees it, the task confronting us is to restore popular participation in the governing process. He proposes an institutional addition which, he argues, can transform Congress into an instrument of the popular will, thereby reviving it and popular influence as counterweight to the "alienated and discredited policies of the executive institutions." His plan calls for "grand juries" consisting of rank-and-file citizens in each Congressional district to investigate social and political issues for discussion with the Congressional representative. This, he maintains, would resurrect an ancient democratic use of grand juries. The proposal is discussed more fully below.

Within the framework of his critique of our policy, Raskin undertakes to explain Nixon and Watergate, and has some insightful, provocative things to say about our current condition. In my view, his *Notes* are also useful in that they demonstrate some of the consequences of a limitation of historic perspective which Raskin appears to share with some other serious radicals who emerged out of the turbulence of the 1960s. This limitation contributes to their difficulty, I think, in shaping viable tactical and strategic outlooks.

American historians and political scientists frequently have trouble separating political substance from institutional form. Important issues are often fought out in abstract constitutional terms which mask more material differences. Thus, the shifting debates over states' rights versus strengthened national government can be traced to the demands and requirements of conflicting class interests. When the nation's young manufacturing and banking enterprises wanted to use the federal government to promote their concerns against the resistance of the early agrarians and later the slave owners, they brushed aside states' rights contentions. When through later possession of concentrated wealth they had also gained political ascendancy, they pleaded states' rights in opposition to popular demands for federal legislation that threatened to cut into their monopoly of power. Highly pragmatic and flexible, they adapted to the changes compelled by popular pressures during the Great Depression, but until World War II they resisted social legislation on the grounds of states' rights and "federalism" as against a strong "national" government. For some historians the institutional argument was the crux of the conflict.

In common with other new radicals, Raskin, I think, likewise tends to confuse institution with substance by viewing our problem as one in which the Presidency —the executive—has become too powerful as against the Congress, which has sunk into irrelevancy. At one point he even implies that we are in the "Age of Crisis" because of this concentration of executive power, though he also insists that the process of Presidential power concentration was initiated in 1933 as a *consequence* of economic crisis.

The problem, I believe, is not the formal one of Presidential power per se, though that is surely inflated, but the uses to which that power is put. Behind the enhancement of Presidential power is the enormous growth of capital concentration since World War II, which is able to dominate politics generally through its wealth and control of the economy and which seeks to shape Presidential power to its will. In his final passages Raskin exclaims that our 18th-century revolutionaries would consider amusing the idea that our "synthetic creations," the corporations and the highly centralized state, are granting us our "inalienable rights" today. Yet the agrarian revolutionary philosophers foresaw quite clearly that a concentration of private economic power would mean a concentration of political power, and they warned against it—even while recognizing the inevitability of concentrated wealth. In their view of society, today's

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corporations and the related centralized state are not synthetic at all but a natural outgrowth of the process they—and Marx—predicted.

Raskin describes well several of the current manifestations of this joining of economic and political power. But what he seems to overlook is that all politics, including the behavior of Congress, is affected, and not only the nature of the American Presidency. The antidote is not simply strengthening Congress as against the Presidency, but popular mobilization to confront corporate power *programmatically* in a variety of arenas including the electoral and legislative, in the streets and in the factories. This does not necessarily negate Raskin's institutional proposal as one possible channel for mobilizing popular pressures but, as will be noted, the proposal raises other questions.

The pitfalls of Raskin's institutional interpretation are perhaps most clearly illustrated in his discussions of the historic process of Presidential power accumulation. According to him, Taft and Hoover viewed Presidential power as being in conflict with capitalism and private property; hence they limited the federal establishment, including the Presidency. Some radical historians, notably William Appleman Williams and Murray Rothbard, also tend to embrace Hoover because he "refused to go all the way to a highly centralized state capitalism" (Rothbard). Raskin likewise contends that in the early days of FDR's Presidency, Congress and the courts were simply passive institutions, the courts protecting the principle of the "negative state." What this overlooks is that, whatever Hoover's personal views, the "negative government" principle represented a positive policy of the nation's major corporations. With a monopoly of economic power and the masses unorganized, they wanted no government meddling in their autocratic control of the society. Congress, far from being the powerless, inept body Raskin describes, was then dominated by conservative rural Republicans and Southern Tory Democrats. Closely linked for political purposes through local business institutions with the nation's major industrial and financial concerns, it was an effective machine for those concerns. The Supreme Court's "nine old men" had a reactionary majority likewise determined to protect the sanctity of big-business domination. The concept, then, of a federal establishment which favored nonintervention as a matter of principle, in opposition to a presumed corporate desire for merger with an active state apparatus, is simply inaccurate.

With the accession of FDR, according to Raskin, the situation changed drastically. A frightened Congress in the midst of national crisis turned over to him the power to act. This marked the ascendancy of the principle that government was synonymous with Presidential power. Since 1933, delegations of Congressional power have conferred upon Presidents the ability to rule without reference to normal constitutional processes. The Presidents have used this in behalf of corporate and bureaucratic interests. And the people, cut off from participation in their government, have been shortchanged.

There is some ambiguity in Raskin's description of the foundations of Presidential power. At several points he suggests that after World War II a new stage was set with respect to it in the development of the national security state. At times he goes back to the emergency powers granted Jefferson (under the Embargo Acts), Lincoln and Wilson in war emergencies, and to Theodore Roosevelt's "stewardship" principle. But he also writes that after 1933 the President was given virtually total discretion in all national security matters, that since 1940 the national security argument has been used widely "to hide mean or dastardly acts of government officials and their friends," and that Presidential supremacy found its boldest statement when in 1942 Roosevelt told Congress that if it did not approve the Emergency Price Control Act as he demanded, he would act on his own responsibility. Thus Roosevelt is charged with having taken the initial steps which, in concert with the corporate interests, cut off popular participation in government, rendered Congress passive and gave him virtual control of foreign policy.

The difficulty is that this drastically distorts the realities of the 1930s and the New Deal. The people turned to government for relief from the ravages of the crisis because they obviously could not get such relief from private sources. They turned to Roosevelt because Congress was dominated by the corporations. The major corporations acquiesced in Roosevelt's initial recovery program because of its temporary, emergency nature and its relatively small component of lower-class relief. But when he undertook to put over major structural reforms demanded by large sections of the working public—labor's right to organize, unemployment insurance, social security, rural resettlement and electrification, minimum wages and public housing—the corporations fought him intensely. He needed and received massive popular backing for these programs, in some cases drafted initially by labor groups, if thinned down on final passage. During Roosevelt's second term, Congress increasingly sought to limit these programs in ways demanded by the corporate interests. So did the Supreme Court until Roosevelt's unsuccessful effort to enlarge it resulted in changing its composition through resignation of the reactionaries. Ironically, far from having received from Congress virtual control of national security policy, he permitted Congress to hamstring him on the vital matter of the arms embargo against Republican Spain. The nation, and the world, would have been vastly better served if he had exerted greater Presidential power in defiance of Congress on this most significant issue.

Curiously, Raskin acknowledges that because of the ferment of the 1960s class law has come under severe popular attack, and that the law is beginning to take into account the demands of workers and consumers. He cites as the "striking example" the organization of welfare recipients to obtain rights ostensibly guaranteed them. But he indicates no awareness of the massive movements of the unemployed and the class battles that shook the 1930s, compelling initial establishment of the principle of government responsibility for aid to the unemployed and of welfare systems. Nor does his interpretation of the period leave room for an understanding of the struggles to organize workers at General Motors, Republic Steel, Goodyear Rubber, the West Coast longshoremen and thousands of other industrial units, large and small, against bitter employer resistance and with quiet government encouragement; the penny auctions among Midwest farmers, shootouts among Alabama sharecroppers and milk-truck dumping among New York dairy producers; the militant organization of blacks and youth and professionals on a grand scale. All this was part of the great popular ferment associated with Roosevelt's reform measures, intensely resisted by the major corporate interests.

Plainly, this cannot be reconciled with Raskin's interpretation of the New Deal experience. If, however, the central issue is perceived as one of Presidential power, the substance of the laws involved or the actions taken to win them make little difference. Whether you are fighting the ravages of the economic depression, or denial of workers' rights to organize, or a war against an avowed Fascist effort at world conquest, or are undertaking imperialist aggression in Indochina, the sole criterion for evaluation is whether or not it adds to the power of the Presidency, and on that ground all of these activities would be opposed indiscriminately. Such a criterion does not provide a viable basis

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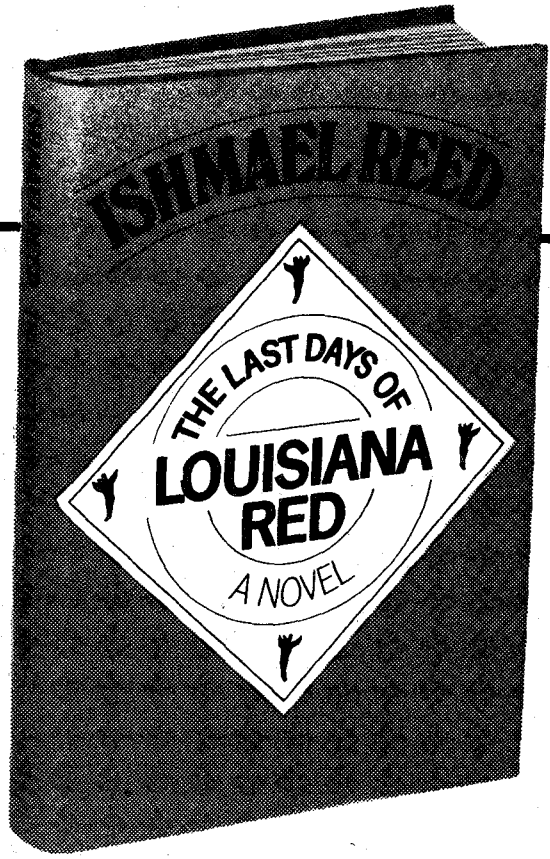

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RANDOM HOUSE

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for constructive social actions or programs.

Involved here is the radical attitude toward social reform. All major social movements of necessity have had to direct their demands for reform to the federal government—whether for social security, civil rights, anti-pollution measures, urban blight, public health, or whatnot—hence enhancing that government. Since the laws are administered by the executive, that has also meant enhancement of the Presidential role and the executive bureaucracy. But if the villain is Presidential power, everything that enhances it must be avoided. Thus, Raskin warns that reforms which appear useful may in a larger context prove regressive because they reinforce the power of the leader, the oligarchy and the repressive apparatus. He does not tell us how to distinguish between those which have this effect and those which do not. But a fear of enlarging governmental power obviously places inhibitions on the struggle for reform.

The difficulty, again, is the formalistic way of viewing the problem. The only realities recognized are those of Presidential power on the one hand, and corporate and bureaucratic power on the other. The mass of Americans is written off. As Raskin puts it, the "barons" are comfortable with the administrative management of the economy since the bureaucracy services the economic and status interests of the corporate, military and administrative elite. True, but does it do so exclusively? By taking the economy into the public arena and subjecting it to politics, political struggle for popular programs becomes possible and has in fact developed on a mass scale. Many a measure has been passed and many a regulation compelled which corporate interests have opposed, and many a measure has been defeated which these interests have favored. Corporate lawyers do lobby and draft laws, as Raskin charges, but so do anti-war, anti-poverty, civil rights and labor lawyers. The scales are tilted against them, but they still register substantial weight.

In the end, one may argue cogently, the marriage between corporate and state power can be destroyed only by the destruction of capitalist property relations and the dispersion of wealth—viewed by the Jeffersonians as an absolute condition for democracy—attained through collective ownership of the productive apparatus. This has not happened as yet in any developed bourgeois democratic country, and it is not in sight here. Raskin remarks at one point that FDR and his advisers acted on the view that the "Great Depression required the President to fill in all the public spaces so that a broken, frightened people would not overthrow the capitalist system." A broken, frightened people never overthrew anything, and there was no more chance of it in the 1930s than in the 1960s. They might riot and promote the kind of instability that brings on fascism —no small danger in the mid-1930s— but it requires a purposeful, disciplined movement of substantial proportions which has won broad popular credibility to overthrow capitalism. The point is important for an understanding of the relationship between such a movement's activity in the struggle for reform in a nonrevolutionary society and its eventual capacity to transform the system.

Raskin's immediate reform proposal for grand juries in each Congressional district does not seek to confront the corporate interests and the executive power with popular countervailing power; it proposes forums for formalized "dialogue" between constituents and their representatives in Congress. The assumption would appear to be that members of Congress, unlike the President, are relatively free of corporate influence and subject to persuasion by such dialogue. In Raskin's scheme, each grand jury would consist of twenty-four citizens with one such jury for every 50,000 people in a Congressional district. No member would serve more than two years. The juries would investigate social problems, prepare reports to be circulated in the district and present them in discussion with their Congressmen. Raskin does not say whether the jurors would serve full-time, with pay, or as volunteers. Assuming they develop effectiveness, I do not know why he thinks they would escape the same process of corruption as other political elements.

If the goal is promotion of dialogue between Congressmen and constituents, I would suggest there is ample scope in existing organizations and, to my knowledge, much of this does take place in some districts. In the early days of the CIO, its political arm—the CIO Political Action Committee—in some cities was organized on a Congressional district basis through breakdown of union membership lists. It worked for a few years, until the purge of the Left. It can probably work again among labor and civic groups, provided they can be moved to political activism on a coalition basis. If not, how does one prevent the kind of institution projected by Raskin—assuming it is realized—from degenerating into another self-serving bureaucracy? □

The Sociologist as Movie Fan

GEORGE RAFT. *By Lewis Yablonsky. McGraw-Hill Book Co. 249 pp. $8.95.*

JOHN BRIGHT

The distinction between a movie fan and a film buff is a real one. The former is a mix of immature emotions and fantasies compensating for frustrations by identification with movie stars, more specifically with the role-images projected on the screen. (This reviewer once spent a long day reading a short ton of fan mail, and emerged feeling discouraged about democracy.) The latter is a student of the cinema as an art form; or, if he is a practitioner in the industry, an analyst of films as a commodity.

By his own cheerful admission the author of this authorized biography places himself in the first category, dating from his youth as Portnoy/Mitty. Growing up less absurd, Lewis Yablonsky became a sociologist and university teacher, focusing on the counter-culture of drugs and criminality. Hence there is both an adolescent and adult logic in his fascination with Raft's life and career, on and off camera.

Unfortunately there is more Portnoy than C. Wright Mills in this pop salute to a screen idol—no social assaying of the movie business, its economics and its function in the dynamics of American life. Also—surprising in a biography—Yablonsky has only a superficial insight into the psyche of his subject. *Photoplay* has done as well.

It might have been interesting, in the sociological area, to examine the peculiarly Hollywood phenomenon of personality (and mere appearance) greatly outweighing talent in the alchemy of star-making—something almost unheard of in the theatre. (*Vide* Gary Cooper, Robert Taylor, Errol Flynn and other non-actors, including certainly the plastic Raft himself.) Here an analysis of images in the mass media would have been instructive.

Was it mainly sex appeal in the case of the heir to the Valentino sultry gaze? Our chronicler evidently thinks so. His book is humid with anecdotes of the

John Bright is a screenwriter who has written for George Raft and other film gangsters. He has just completed a book of memories of Hollywood, Arsenic and Old Faces.

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Raft studsmanship. An admiring estimate by Mack Grey, who tended the actor's robe and slippers for two decades, is typical—and recorded by Yablonsky without irony or psychological comment. It makes you wonder if some variety of penis-envy ought not to be ascribed to the boys as well as the girls.

In any case, the Don Juan of this encomium had begun quite conventionally. After a period pushing around matrons as a gigolo—Valentino's apprenticeship as well—Raft's genuine talents as a dancer took him into vaudeville. Here he met the daughter of a police officer, "a devout Catholic from a fine family." Grayce (*sic*) offered a contrast with the women of his earlier life. "In those days," he confided, "there were two kinds of girls, those who did and those who didn't." Grayce definitely didn't, so he married her. And was disillusioned when she confessed she "did," or had, before. Thereafter, she frustrated him for years by refusing to grant him the divorce he sought to marry Betty Grable and others he was attracted to.

Slum origins often produce rebels or criminals or, once in a while, revolutionaries. But most of the time they turn out what the sociological tribe calls "the drive toward upward mobility," a fancy term for emulating the values and manners of the dominant bourgeoisie. George Raft, alumnus of New York's Hell's Kitchen, demonstrated this familiar syndrome all the way to the peak, with extravagance, display and a slummy's concept of what was classy. Not contradictory was an abiding sentimentality about hoodlums, beginning with his youthful adulation of Owney Madden, the neighborhood's most conspicuous Prohibition success.

As Raft grew in prominence, so did his associations in the underworld. (Most significant of these was his admiring friendship for Bugsy Siegel, who graduated from Brooklyn labor slugger to big-time killer. At the time he was gunned down himself for offending the Mafia oligarchs, he owed Raft a large sum of money.) The gangster connections paid off, briefly. When the star's incandescence dimmed he worked for a while as "host" in gambling casinos in Havana and London. In Cuba he, Meyer Lansky and lesser lights were kicked out by the Castro austerity. In England it was the same heave-ho, only with cold British courtesy.

Yablonsky passes no value judgments on this aspect of Raft's career. The actor's own values, however, are suggested by an incident of the present writer's personal experience. I once sought him out to solicit money for the Sleepy Lagoon defense, assuming that he might have some sympathy for persecuted Chicano kids. (They were innocent, and as sometimes happens, were ultimately cleared.) I had misjudged upward mobility. He said, "I understand your bleeding heart in this beef because your wife is Mexican. But when you goddamn reds raise a defense fund for Benny Siegel"—then under indictment for murder—"I'll give dough to your cause!"

If you like anecdotes, Earl Wilson style, this book abounds with them, some quite juicy. Yet not always accurate—authorized biographies seldom are. True, Raft slugged Peter Lorre, half his size, when Lorre blew smoke in his face, which was not called for in the script. The real reason for the assault was that Raft had blown seventeen takes because of his inability to say the simplest lines of dialogue—and Lorre, a pro and impatient, had taunted him about it.

As coda, here is a piece of Raftiana Yablonsky has overlooked. It was told me by a barber who was an enthusiastic if ingenuous proselytizer for the USSR. While giving the actor a haircut he had made his left-wing pitch, concluding, "George, do you know what would happen to your Cadillac in the Soviet Union?"

"Sure. They'd clout it," the star said.

"No, no, George! You know where it says 'G.R.' on your Caddy, like on your shirts? Well, in the Soviet Union it would say on your car: 'George Raft, Honored Artist of the Republic!' "

"Yeah? . . . Could be." □

THEATRE

HAROLD CLURMAN

A film and probably a musical will be made of Bernard Slade's comedy *Same Time, Next Year*; it will triumph in summer stock and dinner theatres; it will be produced in many foreign capitals and will be seen for a long time in its present production at the Brooks Atkinson Theatre: in short, it will make heaps of money.

To call it, as one reviewer did, a sound commercial show is therefore an understatement. Another spoke of it as "an enchanting evening," a heartening love story, indirectly a bit of American history. A play that inspires such encomiums merits close examination.

Its premise is that a man, an accountant by profession, is overcome with desire on seeing a young woman at a restaurant; that she, fortunately, is likewise affected; that they go to bed together at a nearby country inn, and in their post-coital conversation—when he confesses to an acute sense of guilt (for he is married and the father of three children)—they agree to meet again in the same place at the same time next year to renew their contact on the same basis.

This all takes place in Northern California, where he annually takes care of some business matters a long way from home. The woman, also married and a mother of two children, is a Catholic who has come there on a retreat. She is much more at ease about the incident than the man and tries to relieve him from his anxiety over their adultery. To relax him, after they have identified themselves to each other, she proposes that he tell her about his wife what she will tell him about her husband—one good thing and one bad about their respective mates.

They meet again and again "each year, same time" for twenty-five years. Though by the time the play ends the man's wife has died, we know that their passionate affair will go on for as long as their physical capacities permit. With each encounter their relationship "deepens." They get to know not only more about each other but about her husband and his wife. Because they love their consorts, they have no intention of changing their arrangement—they meet chiefly to make love. In one of their earlier meetings, he admits to the temporary inconvenience of impotence; at another rendezvous she appears in an advanced state of pregnancy and he is obliged to help deliver her baby. We are given to understand that by this time their affair is no longer based on sporadic sexual outbursts but has developed into real love.

We are to assume that all this, by virtue of the metaphor of stage license, is true to life. After all, a man and a woman may be unfaithful and yet love both their legitimate and illicit partners. Yet what sustains the play is not its sentimental base—though that is what makes it "cozy"—but its steady stream of funny lines. For example, the woman explains that her husband was in the service during the war for four years—three of them as a POW. A yak! Funnier still, the man mentions that his wife never

GLIMPSE

In a jumble of pedestrian legs
reflected from a window
just above street level
I see the mirror image
of a step disappearing.
Something tells me
it was my own

Lennart Bruce

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travels by plane. "Is she afraid of flying?" the woman asks. "No, of crashing," he answers.

Since the action stretches from 1951 to 1975, we observe the alteration of manners and customs through the period. For instance: the man, still troubled by his conscience, has consulted a "shrink"; his talk is now peppered with Freudian jargon. More strikingly, when the woman arrives in 1961 she no longer wears the usual housewife's outfit but appears in blue jeans and an American Indian headband; she has also become a student at Berkeley. The first words out of her mouth on this occasion are "Shall we fuck?" Then again, and this is surely funny, in one of the intervals designating the passage of time, we hear—besides songs, news items, etc.—a Nixon radio broadcast in which he speaks of those loyal and upright public servants, Haldeman and Ehrlichman.

There is in that aspect of the play a further touch of political history. The woman has not only become four-letter-word forthright in speech but "radicalized." She is shocked to learn that her lover voted for Goldwater and scandalized when she hears him wish for Vietnam to be wiped off the earth. "Why?" she exclaims. Because, he tells her, his son was killed in the war there. She falls on his neck in tears. So there is more to the show than just gags: every possible string of popular appeal is plucked.

Does it make sense to take this comedy "seriously"? Perhaps it should simply be set down as sub-Simon frivolity. But at the end of the first act I could not forbear thinking: this is all false, foolish, foul—and undoubtedly a tremendous hit. It is nicely staged by Gene Saks. Charles Grodin plays with agreeable competence and one finds in Ellen Burstyn an easy femininity, salutary and winning.

Ed Bullins' *The Taking of Miss Janie* (New Federal Theatre: 466 Grand Street) is a forcefully telling play. It begins with a "flash" of Janie, a white woman who weeps in desperate complaint that she has been raped by Monty, a black man whom we see with her. By the end of the play we have learned that she and Monty met in a poetry class at CCNY where she was struck by his literary talent. Her connection with him is also prompted by the fascination black people arouse in her. She withholds herself from him sexually in an effort to keep their relationship wholly friendly. Monty's feeling for her is perhaps more than desire; there is also rage at her callowness and ignorance of the black world she has entered and her resolve to keep herself chaste with him. The two sentiments mount to physical violence which she, still unenlightened by all she has witnessed and gone through with Monty, terms "rape."

Still, this is not the crux of the play. It is a dramatic portrait of those social elements which gave the 1960s their special stamp. The play focuses on the effect of all those external circumstances—the war, the student demonstrations, the resentments as well as the hopes for radical change—as they play upon the consciousness of articulate black people in particular. The scene moves to a section of Los Angeles which Bullins knows well and where many elements of the syndrome were sharply manifested. But the play's meaning is broader than its specific ethnic background.

What we see is a people—black, white, Jew and gentile—hung up and driven nearly mad by the fearful contradictions between ragged remnants of the American "dream" and the shameful realities of actual existence. There is a strong though fitful will to overcome the resultant disaster but no one is honest, clearheaded, steadfast, informed and disciplined enough to do so. The fanatic (in this case, a black Muslim) isolates himself from everyone, with nothing but his militantly insulting rhetoric to fortify him. The semi-educated "intellectuals" shift their vocabulary and ideology according to every change in the social climate: they take credit for everything which happens everywhere while they land nowhere. Ploys of escape escape nothing, drugs obliterate reality and lead to nonbeing, diverse brands of racism serve for slogans. Rabid affirmations and hysterical protests eventuate in frustration rather than relief. Nearly everyone is lost in a miserable flow of turbid emotion with no beneficent outlet. All are in the dark and no one is "saved"—not even those who have settled into unquiet compromise or stagnant surrender.

The play, despite its disturbing revelations, is neither mournful in tone nor tendentiously raucous. Vigorously humorous, it does not whine; it growls with a savage grin. Without pleading any special cause, it has sinew and muscle. Bold in its courageous objectivity, it is by no means depressing.

The picture is overcrowded or may only seem so because of the numerous characters and places which are contained on the diminutive stage. At moments it is difficult to distinguish one person from another, but that in part is due to the fact that all are equally, though differently, "in trouble." The audience laughs, shouts and stamps in recognition of the types and situations depicted. It is itself the material of what it beholds and is puzzled on that account. It, too, does not *know*. It finds it impossible "to take sides" and it constantly veers in its sympathies because Bullins does not seek to direct it to any firm conclusion. He is demonstrating not preaching. His voice here, for all its explosive resonance, is essentially poetic.

The production is consistent with the spirit of the text. Gilbert Moses has directed it for lurid heat characterized by a heightening of image and sound. This sometimes comes close to being frightful, yet the comic and the grotesque within the chaos of circumstances, sentiments and events are never overlooked. I liked practically everyone in the cast. It is the body of the play. □

TIMOR MORTIS CONTURBAT ME

My Lord Death, hear this petition:
You are (Thou art?) a goodly lord,
I know cerebrally;
Handsomer than that grinning
clanky clown
We show you as;
Goodly, opulently velvety dark
And somberly lovely.

Pray, Lord, when you extinguish me,
Do it micro-fast and from behind,
So he did not know what hit him.
And wait, if you can manage
In your cleansing economy,
Until I am old enough to be the elegant
Rarefied abstraction of a man,
A paper person so fined by abrasive years
As to be more symbolic than real.

Then strike, and hear him rustle as he falls.

R.L. Chapman

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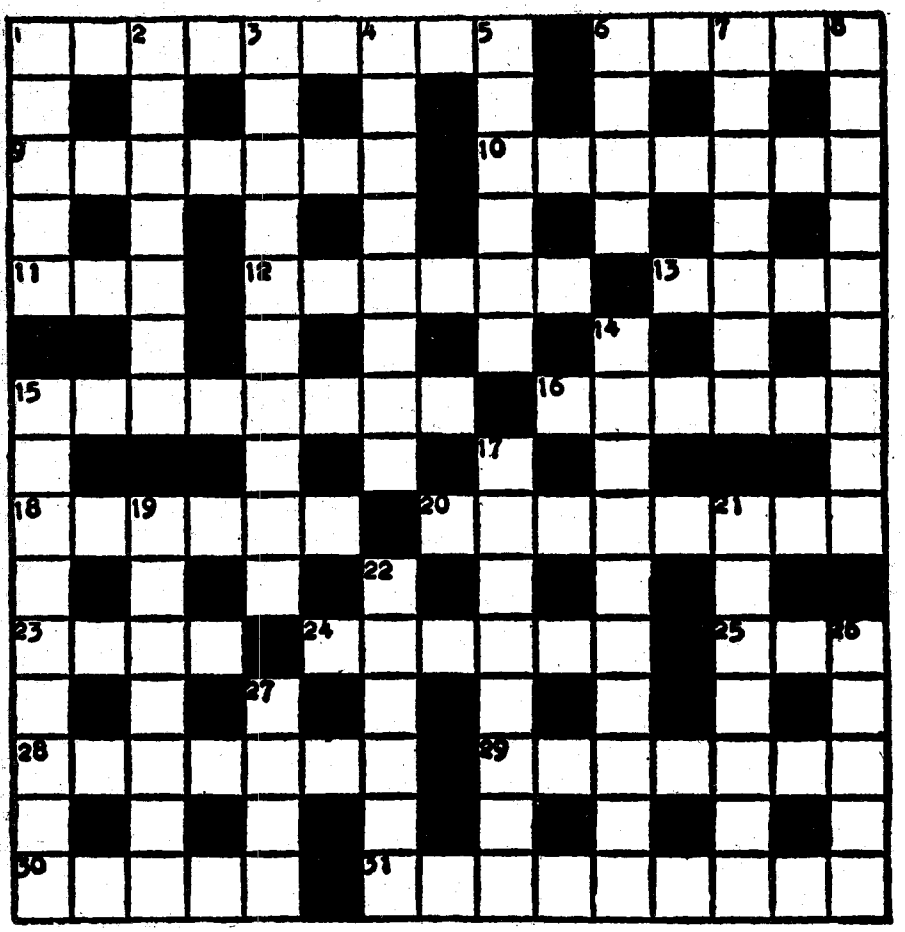
Crossword Puzzle No. 1579

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1, 20 and 15 across The settler's philosophy, when it comes to broken vacation periods. (4,1,4,2,6,4,4)
6 and 11 A full house with only pairs to contend with? (5,3)
9 A corrupt mob sent this, and pays the last respects. (7)
10 News program some westerners pay attention to? (5-2)
11 See 6 across
12 and 13 See 19 down
15 See 1 across
16 Lettuce plant to pamper? (6)
18 Perhaps such snobs had the last laugh. (6)
20 See 1 across
23 Article to remove dry. (4)
24 Makes balloons rotund and men orotund. (3,3)
25 See 19 down
28 Might be composed, despite the vulgar way one fires an employee with a last good-bye. (7)
29 See 19 down
30 White and red for the war-type. (5)
31 Normal requirements often raised for public officials. (9)

DOWN

1 Did one laugh all the way to the 11? (5)
2 Syrian seaport that went up in smoke? (7)
3 Longer in the case of the Kentucky rifle, but that's where some distasteful things are kept. (4,6)
4 Is no removal necessary to make it only half prison there? (8)
5 Where people speak of uplifted spirits? (6)
6 Mary is a proper one! (4)
7 A popular duo usually shows it's difficult. (7)
8 A spear-carrier to the main performer would be even a greater attraction. (9)
14 One hopes the victim of a black-out does, even before the doctor does. (4.6)
15 One on points, perhaps. (3-6)
17 Where a Spanish version of the 10 might take place, but the case ain't proved! (8)
19, 22, 29, 25, 12, 13 and 27 Did the speaker need more audio receivers? (7,6,10, 4,2,4,4)
21 The Devil you say! (At this one tries!) (7)
22 See 19 down
26 A yes-and-no proposition for a writer.
27 See 19 down

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1578

ACROSS: 8 Fruitless search; 9 and 14 As easy as pie; 10 Eviction; 11 Scot; 13 Integrally; 15 Gunwale; 16 Drop off; 19 Storerooms; 21 Echo; 22 Dynastic; 24 Let out; 26 Turn off the light. DOWN: 1 Cross-country run; 2 Pisa; 3 Playbill; 4 Aspects; 5 Asking; 6 Fast; 7 School of thought; 12 Tower; 17 Resolves; 18 Tomcats; 20 Ratify; 23 Aunt; 25 Trig.

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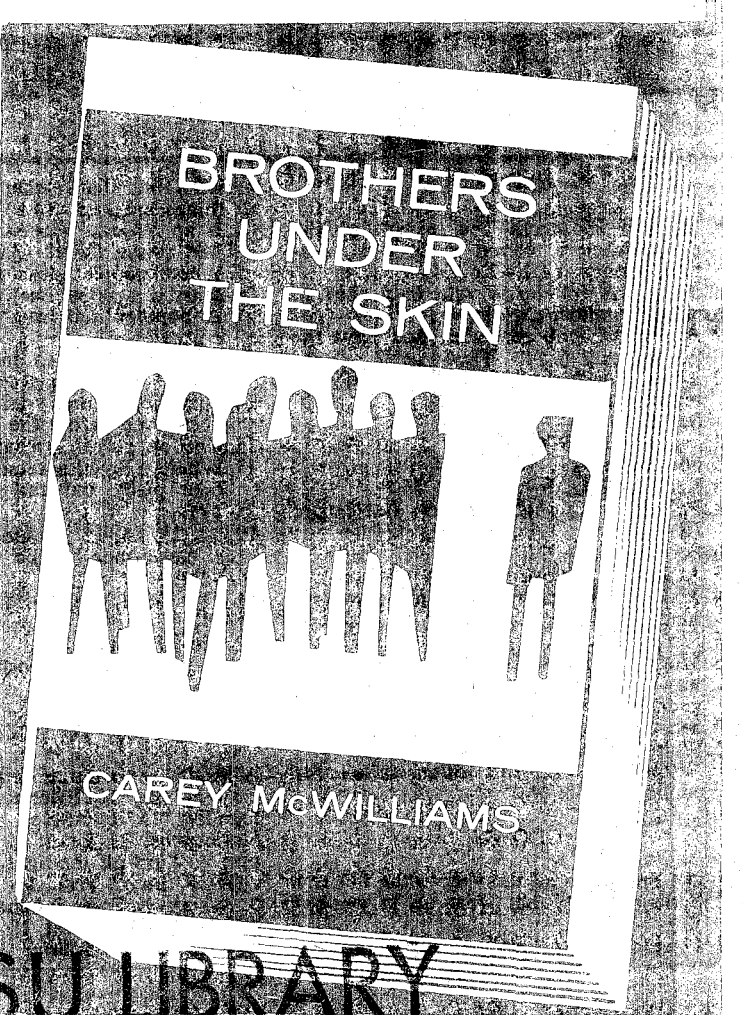

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